

# Maclean's

THE  
NDP SEARCHES  
ITS SOUL

## THE NEW LOOK

—  
**GEORGE BUSH  
TAKES OVER THE  
WHITE HOUSE**

—  
**THE CANADIAN  
CONNECTIONS**

—  
**THE FIRST LADY AS  
'EVERYBODY'S  
GRANDMOTHER'**



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## Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JANUARY 31, 1991 VOL. 132 NO. 4

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### COVER

#### THE NEW LOOK

Washington traffic police were bracing for Bushweek grid lock as 60,000 car guests flood the city this week for the five-day, \$30-million inaugural bash for George Bush. Meanwhile, barring international crises, the Bushs are promised to be a quiet time of ideological calm and pragmatism, overshadowed by the constricting reality of a projected \$165-billion budget deficit.

— 36

### PEOPLE

#### CASTING FOR SMALL EGOS

Actress Carol Kane and her friends Diane Keaton and Kathryn Grody ran into unexpected problems when they looked for male stars to take supporting roles in a new movie. Kane, who often plays subsidiary roles in screen actors, found that few men would return the favor.

— 18



### SPORTS

#### THE BIG FOURTH DOWN

Quarterback Joe Montana's San Francisco 49ers take on the Cincinnati Bengals in the National Football League's final playoff game. But the football is almost secondary to the Super Bowl celebrations. A halftime show, the Big Bushweekling, has a cast of 1,000.

— 79

COVER PHOTO BY BILLY HART/ATLANTIC

Cover photo: David H. Green/Photo



# Legacy of The Hawks

**T**his week, as George Bush swears the mantle of the 43rd president, he will tell the American people privately and in a public address to poster generations. For the first time since the beginning of the Cold War in 1947, there is no clear-cut enemy superpower with the express intent of destroying the United States. Oddly, that situation was created by the two most hawkish presidents to hold office since the Second World War. President Richard Nixon started the world in 1972 with a groundbreaking visit to Beijing that ended 23 years of Sino-U.S. hostility. Then, beginning with the Reykjavik summit in 1986, another Republican, President Ronald Reagan, demonstrated that he was progressive to the peace overtures of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. And the world became a less belligerent place.

The present threat of nuclear war has not disappeared. But it is waning, and that allows other pressing problems that have long been overshadowed in the rhetoric of war to emerge in their own right. The change will offer a profound challenge to Bush and his administration in the current climate, it will be enormously difficult politically to quiet the economy by simply reducing defense spending. As a result, regions of the country whose economies are based largely on defense industries will have to begin the painful scramble to find new sources of job production.

In place of years of preparing for war, one of the first of the new preoccupations of the United States is likely to be a search for new ways to clean up the planet. That is a task in which Clinton has an equal stake, and it promises to be one that will surely test the country's apogee of Clinton as take as dignified place as an equal in Washington, for once, in the campaign. As former Clinton correspondent Hilary Macneil, who joined Clinton Chief Mark McDonald in Washington this month, said of the new era: "It is a time when a very different agenda will truly preoccupy Washington."

*Kevin Olyga*



Macneil (left) and McDonald, pressing positions have been switched in the rhetoric of war.

## Macneil's

(AND A FEW OTHER THINGS)

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Clinton (left) and Gore, Clinton, Clinton



Clinton (left) and Gore, Clinton, Clinton



Clinton (left) and Gore, Clinton, Clinton



Clinton (left) and Gore, Clinton, Clinton



Clinton (left) and Gore, Clinton, Clinton



Clinton (left) and Gore, Clinton, Clinton

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# OPENING NOTES

Margaret Kemper visits an old friend, Amy Madigan endures a cattle call, and John Turner gets pain relief

## PRESIDENTIAL CYCLES

Nancy Reagan redecorated the White House in 1981 and, as a result, Barbara Bush has sold that there is an need for her to refurbish the presidential residence. Instead, the incoming First Lady had a much more busy project in mind as her predecessor guided her through Bush's new home last week's laundry. During her husband George's eight-year stint as U.S. vice-president, Bush said that she kept the washing machine and dryer in the basement of their residence—and regarded trips up and down the stairs to do laundry as one way of getting regular exercise. Still, Bush added that she wanted to continue washing and drying the clothes of her 10 grandchildren when they visited her—without tourists who were visiting the public areas of the building encountering the First Lady carrying a load of dirty washing. Spokesman Rhone Crispin said that Bush had occasionally done laundry herself in a washer and dryer in the third-floor private quarters. Confused Crispin: "If Mrs. Bush wanted to throw in a load, she could."

Bush (left). Reagan's laundry project for a First Lady



AP/WIDE WORLD

## Low profile in a high office

Dan Quayle is scheduled to become U.S. vice-president this week, but the former Indiana senator has made few public appearances since the Republican victory last November. As a result, there is widespread speculation in Washington that president-elect George Bush has misread the stamlike-prone Quayle. By contrast, Bush was highly visible just before he became vice-president in 1981. But Quayle's spokesman says that their tour is busy studying his new, largely ceremonial position—not trying to improve his image. Lesson 1: out of sight, out of mind.



Kemper, Quayle: warm rapport and a promise of a departure on schedule

## MEETING THE MAN IN HAVANA

Toronto-based Storyline Productions, the makers of a forthcoming documentary on Cuba, decided a sure way to gain access to President Fidel Castro during an eight-day visit to Havana in December, 1987, they hired Margaret Kemper, the ex-wife of Pierre Trudeau, to interview him. Richard Nolan, the producer of *The Shattered Dream*, a one-hour film that will air on U.S. public broadcasting stations in March, said that they took the action because Kemper had achieved a warm rapport with Castro

during a state visit to Cuba in 1976. The Cuban leader greeted Kemper as an interviewee—but at a time when he knew that the team's two camera crews were unavailable. Still, when Kemper complained at an off-camera interview that mechanical problems had delayed the crew's departure aboard a Cuban flag from Toronto, an embarrassed Castro personally intervened. Indeed, Kemper's on the return flight had to be at the airport not how earlier than scheduled—and the plane took off precisely on time.

## FOREIGN GARBAGE ON THE CABINET TABLE

The closure of a municipal incinerator in Toronto last July created a nagging new problem for the federal cabinet: how to dispose of garbage at Pearson International Airport. Under federal law, refuse from international flights has to be burned to guard against the spread of heat-and-cold-resistant diseases. But other Ontario incinerators refused to take the garbage. Indeed, almost 2,000 tons of garbage had collected at the airport before a Niagara Falls, N.Y.-based incinerator—108 mi. away by highway—accepted the waste last October. Now, federal officials are anxiously hoping for a permanent solution to a jet-age garbage problem.



## Lining up for stardom

For many actors, one of the hallmarks of success is no longer having to stand around corners that are crowded with rivals. Still, several leading Hollywood actresses had to make an ugly second cattle call audition last winter when they tried out for two key roles in the recently released movie *The Accidental Tourist*. Indeed, when Amy Madigan landed director Lawrence Kasdan's office, she joined a crowd of such established actresses as Mary Steenburgen, Laura Dern, Kate Capshaw, Victoria Beckham and Jodie Foster. According to Madigan's personal manager, Alan Sussman, she almost took the unexpected encounter with good grace. "I said to her, 'It's a buyers' market, good or a flow state—especially in the women's area.' But that in mind comforted the roles went to Kathleen Turner and Geena Davis, two actresses who did not attend that cattle call."

Madigan crowded and a buyers' market

## Office turnover

As John Turner underwent a successful operation to relieve back pain in Toronto last week, the conflict from the



Turner's revamped staff

opposition leader's office continued in Ottawa. In the latest personnel change since the Nov. 21 federal election, press secretary Jane McDowell becomes interim director of communications—replacing Ray Boyd, who is seeking a new job. Turner himself plans to recuperate in Jamaica early next month before returning to a revamped staff roster on Feb. 22.

## A name for the Conservatives

A star director for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Toronto lawyer John Tory played a key role in engineering a Progressive Conservative victory during the 1984 federal election campaign. And while Mulroney's long-time friend remained his law partner two years after the Nov. 21 election, many influential Conservatives want him to make a swift return to the political scene—in a campaign for the leadership of Ontario's once-powerful provincial party. According to one supporter, such party heavyweights as former Ontario premier William Davis, Senator Norman Atkins and former Ontario PC campaign secretary Hugh Segal want Tory to succeed interim leader Andrew Brewin at a party convention, which will likely be

held next year. Still, Tory declined to say last week if he will try to lead a political organization that already bears his name.



Tory's party heavyweights and a leadership campaign

## RUMORS AND APPEARANCES

During the presidential election campaign, George Bush denied that he had engaged in a lengthy affair with 56-year-old Jennifer Fitzgerald, a veteran staff aide. Indeed, the unfounded speculation even caused a brief drop in the Dow Jones industrial average last October. Bush has again shown his contempt for that winter campaign by making Fitzgerald the administration's deputy chief of protocol. Now, it is Fitzgerald who will have to worry about appearances, her job is to ensure that the visits of foreign leaders to Washington run smoothly.

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## COLUMN



## Making a profitable nostalgia trip

BY IAN FRAZIER

My teenage son and his friends regularly spread their sweat-soaked out on the living-room floor. Despite their avidly traded signs, their portfolios continue to soar in value while mine drops. And their good fortune continues to mount despite the stock market crash of 1987 and the hockey performance of the markets ever since. But the secret of their success is that they are not investing in stocks or bonds with an eye on future profits. They are cashing in on the past, buying and selling cardboard baseball and hockey cards, and other toys that are performing many top stockholders. For instance, my gold star \$10 in value last summer in the Toronto Stock Exchange, my son's Mario Lemieux card collection earned them double in value in \$12 from \$6 per card.

Trading cards has become big business. Known as sports collectibles, these range from cards to mugs and even damaged coins to postcards and other memorabilia. They are being sold at shops that seem to be springing up regularly on both sides of the border. And "investing" in cards is not as hokey as it sounds. It avoids the kind of volatility in stocks that often costs investors the most money. Besides that, it is an enjoyable extension of that pleasant hobby: preoccupation with collecting and swapping cards with friends.

For sure, the values are high. Rare cards fetch six-figure prices. These values, like those in the stock market or on the grocery store shelf, are strictly affected by supply and demand. Even though cards are published annually by card manufacturers, supply is limited because there are just two companies that have the right to photograph and reprint National Hockey League players and five companies that do the same for major-league baseball. Proceeds from the sale of the cards go to both the baseball and hockey players' associations, and piracy is illegal.

On average, baseball cards are far more valuable than hockey cards. This is because

*While the value of stocks declines, many young investors have found the rewards of old bubble-gum hockey and baseball cards*

demanded higher due to the fact that there are far more baseball fans in North America than hockey fans. Besides that, supply is sometimes scarce, and some "hatched" cards are extremely rare, dating back to 1875 when they were introduced as a premium in boxes of cigars or tobacco tins. Bubble gum came in the 1930s. These older cards are undervalued, again due to supply and demand. The rarer the card, the more valuable it is.

For his part, Kevin Zoltek, a 16-year-old collector and part owner with his parents of a sports-collectibles retailer, 2 & 2 Sportscards, in Mississauga, Ont., said, "The single most valuable baseball card is from 1951, a Pittsburgh shortstop named Willie Mays. It is worth \$250,000 because there are only 30 of it out there." Mays' card is more valuable than baseball great Babe Ruth's because Mays was against stroke, resisted his career being put in tobacco products and used the proceeds to stay distributed. The result was that only a few were distributed.

As for current players, performance affects a card's value. Lemieux rose then declined in price over the summer after he was the top scoring left. This gives "investors" another reason—not that they need one—in their

newspaper sports sections. Last July's "This book for home runs, the game average of pitcher. Who has gone three for three. That kind of thing means the card is worth more. You also look for trades. Take the Blue Jays' Fred McGriff. If he's traded to the Indians, there will be more interest in his rookie card."

Unfortunately, players' fortunes are like the stock market's, and what goes up can also come down. The rookie card for Blue Jay George Bell declined in value over the summer to \$11.1 a card from \$15 in his game debut. And the past is also more valuable because it is rare. For instance, the latest U.S. only bubble-card catalogue quotes a price of \$425 for a complete set of 100 players made 1904-1963 season, but a set of 1976 players was worth only \$40.

Here in Canada, hockey is still more popular than baseball. In stores like 2 & 2, customers can create huge investments of cards and buy special plastic cases to keep them in neat rows. Collectors also trade in players' jerseys, posters and autographed items including balls, bats and hockey sticks. Hockey cards fetch lower prices because of the relatively recent explosion of the National Hockey League, combined with the fact that there are countless minor-league and a handful of U.S. clubs. One of the most valuable hockey cards around these days is Wayne Gretzky's 1979-1980 rookie card, worth \$50. But that is still less than the \$70 you'd get for the rookie card of Joe L. Cantello, an outlander with the Oakland Athletics.

Because autographed cards are more valuable than unsigned ones, one of the biggest drivers to the regular card stores is the fact that players attend who will sign cards for a fee. Maclean's hockey Maclean makes a handsome living doing that, among other business interests, as thousands gear up and pay Maclean \$10 to sign their cards, bats or balls. A Maclean card at least continues can be worth up to \$1,200.

Card shows function as miniature stock markets for the sports fan. The most popular is based on what I attended in December at a Toronto hotel at a room the size of a small gymnasium. There was a seasonal entrance fee of \$1, a couple of former hockey stars on hand for autograph and dozens of tables set up by dealers and collectors, and a large number of people and sold. Like stock markets, several publications print recent prices for cards of all kinds. But, said Zoltek, "Baseball is not of that much interest anywhere."

As with any economic activity, crashes have sometimes preceded the boom. Several years ago, a man in the United States was convicted of counterfeiting Pete Rose cards, and there are still shortages as some holders "short-stop" the market and buy from wholesalers at large discounts before the cards can reach the stores. It is all a microcosm of the stock market, except that the cards are sold and stored about their assets. And said my "I have the value of my card collection has doubled, but I cannot ever imagine selling." But that is not the case with stocks, especially ones that drop in value. I can vouch for that.

# PARTY POLITICS

For the New Democratic Party—and for the nation—the move would mark the end of an era. NDP leader John Edward Broadbent, one of the most popular politicians of his generation, will likely announce within two months that he is stepping down from the position that he has held since July, 1975. Broadbent, like many New Democrats, had high hopes of achieving a historic breakthrough in electoral support at the last election. But on Nov. 21, those hopes were dashed. NDP candidates won a record 43 seats—up from the 32 they had in the last Parliament—but the party attracted just 30 per cent of the popular vote, a figure roughly in line with its support at the past three elections. Since then, Broadbent, 54, has consulted with friends and NDP veterans about his future—and Mulroney has insisted that he has told some friends and associates that he has decided to retire. Broadbent has said to several of his intimates that, early in March, at a meeting of the NDP federal council that is to be arranged in Toronto, he is expected to announce that he is resigning as party leader.

But if Broadbent's personal self-searching has ended, his party's self-examination has just begun. NDP stalwart Stephen Lewis, 51, former leader of the Ontario New Democrats, said that the NDP is on the verge of "a redefining national mission." After the federal election, furious party members lashed out at senior NDP officials for their management of the campaign—a saga fueled largely by the party's efforts to capitalize on opposition to the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Broadbent himself was spared much personal criticism, although last week John Rodriguez, MP for the Northern Ontario riding of Nickel Belt, accused the first New Democratic MP to say openly that Broadbent should resign. "I think I'd should seriously consider stepping down," he told a CBC TV interview on Jan. 12.

At the same time, Broadbent's staff lashed for another attack from within the media as NDP MPs—along with several embittered former MPs who lost their seats—gathered in Ottawa at week-end for a two-day meeting. But more and more, the party's members have given way to broad questions about the party's future. "People were angry in December," said deputy campaign director Robert Sears, himself a senior focus of the criticism. "But since then, the party has been much more reflective—and that is a good thing."

The current internal debate is unprecedented since the early 1970s, when New Democrats

## THE NDP FACES A TESTING TIME AMID INDICATIONS THAT BROADBENT PLANS TO CALL IT QUITS

split violently over the leftist versus the party's so-called Wolfe faction, which produced a 1969 manifesto written chiefly by James Hauer, Gerald Caplan and Broadbent—he later abandoned the group—that favored an "independent, socialist Canada." Now, any debate over the party's future direction likely will come to a head during a party convention that is expected to be held in Winnipeg in August. And if Broadbent sticks to his decision to step down, that convention will also choose a new leader. But until then, NDP supporters across the country will continue to debate issues at the heart of the party's philosophy, from income and economic redistribution to the role of organized labor in the NDP—and even whether the party should continue to seek power or be content to act as a social democratic gadfly in minority Parliaments in the 1960s and 1970s, NDP goaling coalesced to the Liberal government's rejection of nuclear weapons and the passage of foreign aid and anti-nuclear legislation.



Sears: the campaign had critics

The anti-war clash has been prompted in part by broadening political wings abroad, where some socialist and social democratic parties have merged their welfare-state philosophies to "hardheaded, neoconservative" critics. Lewis, who opposed the Wolfe in the early 1970s and now lectures at the University of Toronto, said that on a trip to New Zealand

in 1987, where a normally Socialist government holds power, he was shocked to find it transferring responsibility for some government services such as health care to private hands and putting rigid controls on government spending to control the deficit—policies some in line with the thinking of orthodox Canadian Conservatives.

There is no apparent movement toward such economic conservatism within Canada's socialist party. But some influential NDP supporters and analysts have noted the electoral success of some foreign socialist parties. For his part, former NDP federal secretary Caplan, 56, has called on the party to examine the economic policies of recently Socialist governments in New Zealand, Australia and France for lessons. And former Wolfe leader Lauer, 47, an economist at Toronto's York University, has criticized the party for hanging on to outdated concepts of state manipulation of the economy. The star, Lauer said, has become "an unacknowledged failure."

As it considers its policy options, the party must confront one overriding question: should it continue to seek power or should it be content to serve as the self-appointed conscience of the nation? Said Lewis, who spent four years as Canadian ambassador to the United Nations before returning to Canada last fall, "It would be wonderful for the party to attain power, but it is not necessary. We can do meaningful things without being in government." That view infuriates many party professionals, particularly in Western Canada, where the NDP and its predecessor, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, have earned 30 different provincial governments. Former federal secretary Clifford Scott, who has served as senior party staff for 38 years, said that such a view is akin to "a hard case of purgatory." He added, "Some people will always tell better in socialist and others than in Ralph Loeber's creation."

But Sears acknowledged that there is a tension among NDP activists—the people who are still "the heart and soul of the NDP"—over the party professionals who want the critics dismissed as a slick campaign. That criticism is focused on the party's handling of free trade. Although the party was united in opposition to the Canada-U.S. agreement, party activists were convinced that concentrating on free trade would only highlight the NDP's perceived weaknesses. The reason: polls indicated that the issue was linked too closely a voters' minds to economic management and international relations—two areas that voters have traditionally regarded as NDP weak spots. As a result, Broadbent, Sears and other strategists decided before the campaign that the NDP should develop free trade and economic or how-to world affect medicine and professions.

Meanwhile, as NDP supporters await Broadbent's announcement on his future, there is no obvious line in the NDP ranks. But there should be as shortage of candidates when the leadership becomes vacant. Possible candidates include NDP Lorne Nyström, Nelson Kim, William Blake and Jan Wiedfeldt, former MP Michael



Broadbent in the House of Commons: there will be no shortage of contenders

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Cauchy and Marvyn Dwyer, both of whom would be handicapped by the fact that they lost their seats on Nov. 21, and former B.C. premier David Barrett, who won a federal seat in the election. As well, one of Canada's best-known labor leaders, Canadian Auto Workers president Robert White, is also listed as a leadership candidate.

As for Broadbent, friends and colleagues expect that, after 20 years as an MP, he will probably return to academic life. Before entering politics, Broadbent, who holds a doctorate in political science, taught at York University. As well, he is likely to increase more activity involved in Socialist International, the London-based grouping of socialist and social democratic parties from around the world. Broadbent has been a vice-president of the organization since 1978. But regardless of Broadbent's decision, the painful process of self-examination will continue within the party that he has led for 14 years.

MARC CLARK in Ottawa

## National Notes

### CROWDED SKIES

The Canadian Air Traffic Control Association called for a public inquiry into air traffic problems at Canada's major airports. Later the same day, there were two near collisions at Toronto's busy Pearson International Airport—one involving two Canadian Airlines jets carrying more than 250 people.

### SMOKER'S RATES

Statistics Canada reported that 20 per cent of Canadians are regular smokers, down from a high of 43 per cent in 1966. Smoking rates, both men (31 per cent) and women (26 per cent) are decreasing.

### LIBERAL ADAM

A police membered the federal election result as the Toronto-area riding of York North. It was the second reversal of the vote and it ended Conservative Michael O'Brien more than a month after he was sworn in. Liberal Maurice Stronach was declared the winner in the Nov. 13 election by 77 votes. The latest standings in the House of Commons: Progressive Conservatives 168, Liberals 83, New Democrats 43, vacant 12.

### SUSPICIONS OF MURDER

Police were searching in the Winnipeg area for the body of Christine Jacko, 33, who has not been seen since Dec. 17. They charged her husband, Brian Jacko, former right-out for the Winnipeg Blue Bombers of the Canadian Football League, with second-degree murder.

### ANOTHER CRASH

A Canadian Forces CP-188 Hawk crashed near Cold Lake, Alberta, killing the pilot, Capt. Rudy Roma, 31. It was the eighth Hawke to be down since the Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau announced the purchase of more than 130 of the jet fighters in 1980.

### POSTPONING THE LINE

Protest Tammie Martin Demand's government announced a one-year postponement of the land-link project that would connect Prince Edward Island with New Brunswick. Meanwhile, a panel of experts will assess the environmental impact of the proposed eight-mile-long bridge.

### NIBBLES FOR ADULTS

Toronto city council endorsed a \$554,000 pilot project under which streetlights along streets will remove child models in exchange for used toys. The program is intended to help in the fight against sex toys that can be spread by sharing dirty needles.

# Alberta's 'loose cannon'

Calgary's mayor seeks a new challenge

**T**he growing from 300 Calgary Rotary Club members at a luncheon last week left no doubt about the mayor's popularity. But moments after the Rotarians toast of him to a chorus of "What a record! What a record!" Mayor Kim Klein, in the town of My Darling Clementine in Jan. 10, Ralph Klein announced that he was quitting civic politics to run as a Conservative in the next Alberta provincial election. After almost nine years as mayor—which included leading Calgary through the brutal February 1988, Winter Olympics—Klein, 46, announced to an

the federal election campaign last November, asserted some Tory insiders. For one thing, the provincial party has a history of picking its candidates on the basis of team performance and their history of constituency service rather than individual political stardom outside the party. And despite Klein's popularity—he cultivated as much as a man of the common folk, in part by regularly frequenting a downtown Calgary tavern where he is easily approachable—some Albertans noted that Calgary's \$1.6 billion debt, the accompanying per capita civic debt in the country after Montreal's, was

after three years in office, some party insiders say, would put Getty at a strong position against both the opposition npr, which holds only 18 seats, and the resurgent provincial Liberals, who since last October have been led by former Edmonton mayor Laurence Decore and hold four seats (OK the remaining three seats, and in recent and the other two are held by the Representative Party.) Said one senior cabinet minister: "It looks like spring to me."

When the election comes, Klein is likely to run as Calgary's downtown Elbow riding—which Russell has held for 22 years. And the incumbent's departure from the cabinet is expected Klein's chances for a possible role in the next Alberta government—which he obviously feels has already been secured. But he said Getty will clearly have to counter grandstanding from some Tory insiders about the inclusion of a party outsider. Said Russell: "Attracting his to the party is a crap. It is a very interesting and good candidate and a popular vote getter. But Klein's remarks about his provincial cabinet post rattled brothers in Edmonton."

For his part, Klein acknowledged that he must prove his skills to some provincial Tories. He said that, during his years as a crony politician, he gained a reputation as a political maverick by not relying on party orthodox. "One of the challenges is to demonstrate that I can be a team player," he said. But, he added: "The premier wants to know the party. He would like me to bring my style of Calgary politics to the Progressive Conservative party—and I have no intention of sharing my style. It is no secret. I am as unapologetic person as there is."

The mayor's casual, open style—the so-called "Ralph" by friends and enemies who are alike—has been at the heart of his three mayoralty victories, including the 1986 re-election in which he drew an astonishing 90 per cent of the vote. A former radio and television reporter, Klein has drawn support from a coalition of ethnic, sporting, business and cultural groups. He has been widely lauded as one of a variety of social situations, whether at the prestigious Calgary Petroleum Club or at his favorite river covey chair in the St. Louis Hotel towers—where visiting journalists often descended during the Olympics. He is an active member of the Calgary Police Association, said Norman Russell, a former executive in Calgary's civic media station and one of Klein's closest advisers. "He has a way of looking at things from street level, not from the pretty papers."

But Klein will clearly have to become accustomed to the new from the town as well. Marston, his metropolitan base also resulted in political piffles, one of the worst being his 1982 description of job-seekers flooding into downtown Calgary as "crops of locusts" from other parts of the country. In the political and political jargon, the well-known "crops" will have to make sure that he does not shoot himself in the foot.

JOHN BOWEN in Calgary



Klein and his wife, Colleen, for Getty: a chance to improve party fortunes

offer from Premier David Getty to make the state provincial politics. For Getty, it was a coup, and a chance to bolster his government's sagging profile in the wake of devastating by-election results that they will not run again. And for Klein, a former Liberal who has a solid reputation for reaching to his own level, the offer had clearly been too good to resist. "He realized that he would like a strong leadership in southern Alberta—certainly there would be a cabinet position," Klein told the audience. "If the premier is going to allow for a lot of his own vision on deck, I accept."

Getty's recalcitrance of Klein increased speculation that the premier may be planning to call a provincial election this spring. But the prospect also led to the cabinet mayor, made in a Calgary hotel room after Klein playfully endorsed free trade at a Conservative rally during

awaiting evidence of free trade spending—in an election that made a good Mayor's former mayor, John Delaney, said Rotarians: "Klein is a man of the people. I just hope he doesn't take his spending and debt habits from the city to the provincial government."

Said the friends of Klein to the Tory lawyer for the next election clearly helped the Getty government's prospects. The cabinet members announced over the past two months that they will sit again with newly elected Treasury Minister Lloyd Wells and Deputy premier and interim cabinet minister David Russell, both of them political newcomers. A provincial election is not required by law until 1991, but the timing of the announcement announcements across speculation that the Times with 80 seats in the 93-seat legislature, will attempt to pick the best possible time for a 1993 election rather than waiting two years. Going to the people



Officers assemble in protest: 'a sign of frustration and demoralization'

## Black-and-white issues

Tensions grip Toronto's police and blacks

**I**t began with the morning shift at the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force's 41 Division in suburban Scarborough. Some officers arriving for work were so angry that they refused to go on patrol with their weapons. As reports of the action spread, officers at 53 Division in the city's east end, 53 Division in the north, 11 Division in the west and 32 Division in downtown threatened to follow suit. Then, supervising staff, headquarters personnel and police association officials managed to avert a serious situation—but not before several hundred members of Canada's largest police force had grudgingly undertaken their discontent. "It was a protest," deputy Police Chief William McCormick commented later. "It was a sign of their frustration and their demoralization."

The spark that ignited the impromptu protest was the arrest of David Denney, 33, after a five-month investigation by the Ontario Provincial Police, Denney, a 32-year-old member of the force, was charged with manslaughter in the death of Lester Davidson, a 44-year-old black who was shot and killed during a scuffle with police in a housing house last August. The

acts of the problem, however, are much deeper. Denney was the third local police officer to be arrested in a week in connection with a shooting death—and the second to be charged with manslaughter. Earlier, Const. Anthony Melanson of the neighboring Peel Regional Police Force had been charged with manslaughter, and his partner, Darren Langley, with aggravated assault. In the death of Michael White, 17, a white teen-ager, 15 Toronto police officers are white. All three police officers are white. And each case has been at the center of a growing controversy over race relations between the police and visible minorities.

The manslaughter charge against Denney was laid, in fact, just hours after the Black Action Defence Committee, a group formed in the wake of the Davidson killing, publicly demanded to name Ontario Attorney General Ian Scott's office to demand that the policeman be charged with murder. That same committee, now in the forefront of efforts to have murder charges laid against the Peel policemen involved in the shooting of Lawson, killed by police a month ago while driving a stolen car. In both cases, committee spokesmen, as well as members of

other black groups, have denounced the less severe charges. They claim that both killings were a sign of racism within local police forces, pointing out that there are only 243 members of visible minorities in uniform in the 5,400-strong Toronto police force. And black spokesmen also say that the racism growing out of the murder trial will not mean the thousands of white-minority conflicts had led to public attention. Said Dudley Lewis, a spokesman for the Black Action Defence Committee: "A charge of manslaughter will not clear all the facts to come out."

Police spokesmen, particularly in the case of Denney, Fisher spokesmen and last but not least all Toronto officers, regardless of race, were angered over his manslaughter charge. And many members of the force, both in the rank and file and at the senior levels, said that the Ontario attorney general's office was pressuring them to lay the charge. "I would not want to say either rhetorical conclusion," said Arthur Lynner, president of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Association. Indeed, Police Chief Marko, charged by The Toronto Star while on Florida vacation, said that the attorney general's office had threatened the arrest of two Crown prosecutors in connection to proceed with manslaughter charges. "According to my information, and I used to be convinced, the whole package of evidence was forwarded to the attorney general's department, and the decision to lay charges was made there."

For his part, Scott denied that he had called on to say any form of political pressure. "It is wrong to say at all," he told reporters in the wake of the fierce storm from the police protest. And the legislature, Scott said, "The process was followed in this case as precisely the process that has been followed by other attorneys general in similar cases. There is no pressure." But Scott refused to comment on the nature of the Crown prosecutors' recommendations and said that he would not make them public. Although Scott did not criticize Marko, he said that the police chief was not a member of the one-night investigation or among those consulted by the department's staff. And he defended the heavy investigation of the Davidson case by the Ontario Provincial Police—more than five months passed between the shooting and the charges. He said that cases in which police officers are investigated are often particularly complex because there is a "variety of officers" involved in people who are legally entitled to carry guns.

The police union was not helped last week by another incident that added to the tension between the force and the black community. Metropolitan Toronto police and their counterparts in neighbouring Durham Region, on the trail of a group of thieves, stormed a Jewish church service in Scarborough. Acting on a tip from a cabdriver, they burst off live rounds, including a 13-year-old boy, 46 were later released with wounds. The police have been in a row in East India. It was not the kind of action calculated to win friends for the force among the Toronto area's visible minorities.

BARRY CAHILL



Lynner: political pressure



# School-yard racism

Blacks and whites brawl in Nova Scotia

**I**t began innocently enough—a snowball thrown by a white student that hit a black youth boasting the law to go home from nearby Cole Harbour District High School in Halifax County, N.S. That set off a fight that ended within minutes. But the next day, as many as 40 black and white youths—not all of them students—engaged in a brawl on the school parking lot. Four victims were later treated for more injuries at Dartmouth General Hospital and released.

And by Wednesday, Jan. 15—two days after the snowball incident—tensions increased again as about 500 black and white students stood staring at each other across the school parking lot during the lunch hour. When dusklight broke out, police quickly dispersed the students. After that three show-downs, officials closed the school for a day and a half to let tensions ease, while police held charges against 54 people in connection with the violence.

Classes resumed for Friday morning only, but it remained clear that the fires still smoldered. "This last week has been a disaster for us," Cole Harbour principal James MacNeil told a crowd of more than 1,500 parents, students and concerned citizens, pressed into the school gymnasium on Thursday night to discuss the racism.

He added: "This has been a real setback for our schools, to our communities. I have to say tonight, we have a problem."

Still, not everyone agreed about how deep the problems were rooted in the small town 39 km from Halifax. Lloyd Gibbs, chief executive officer of the Halifax County-Sheffield district school board, maintained that while the students engaged black and white students, that he did not necessarily mean that "the school is racist." Added Gibbs: "I don't think the school as we find a usual segment of the school and the community conducting themselves in a way which is causing the whole community to be depressed." But some spokesmen said that the more than 15,000 blacks in Nova Scotia—just under three per cent of the province's population of 875,000—said that the brawl was indicative of a larger problem on Nova Scotia's racist history, that it was indicative of a larger problem on Nova Scotia's racist history, that it was indicative of a larger problem on Nova Scotia's racist history.

For one, acknowledged that only a small percentage of students were involved in the brawl. But he said that the violence reflected racism, not only at the Cole Harbour school but throughout the province. Said Smith: "I would say that it is a racial problem, but I wouldn't say it's just among the students."

Many students at Cole Harbour are based in from communities that have little in common—white middle-class subdivisions and

black and white working-class communities near Dartmouth, a city of 85,000 across the border from Halifax. And although Nova Scotia's black community is the oldest in Canada—the ancestors of many of the province's blacks settled in Nova Scotia after the American Revolution—some critics charged that Nova Scotians have done little to come to terms with racial differences. "Part of the problem is antagonism in the school that is superficial," Oliver Bruce Johnson, a resident of the rural black community of North Preston, told the assembly. "It's black faces and white faces at the school together, but they're doing nothing to change attitudes. Part of racism comes from here. You first have to teach your children to accept people for who they are."

For his part, Donald Smith, a 54-year-old minister serving three local black towns and a longtime

critic of the entrenched differences between white and black communities, said that racism in the education system has been a problem for years. Although no official statistics exist, Smith and other community leaders say that unemployment among Nova Scotia's blacks is as high as 40 per cent, compared with about 12 per cent in the province as a whole. And with such economic differences existing among students, last week's confrontation was as much a clash of cultures as a clash of whites against blacks, said Donald Gammont, a sociologist at Halifax's Dalhousie University.

Agencies and education officials aired their concerns at last Thursday's meeting, many of them called for solutions to the problem. Among the suggestions: more education about black history and culture, better communication between both parents and children and between black and white students, and more public discussion of racism. At the same time, MacNeil proposed to take a tough stand in the event of any future skirmishes. "We will not allow any further ugly incidents," the principal said to coming applicants.

Provincial Education Minister Ronald Giffin said that part of the problem at Cole Harbour is the school's overcrowding. In fact, with 1,700 students contained in two separate buildings, Cole Harbour's largest high school is the province. Said Giffin, who also pledged promised money last week to build a new school. "When you have a school that has 1,700 students in it, the other volume presents a whole set of problems in terms of administration and discipline."

But some black spokesmen disagreed with Giffin's assessment of the situation, saying that it masked the real cause. Declared Smith: "They say we build new schools, but that doesn't deal with the problem of racism."

We have to face it. It is we are afraid to say it in a problem, it can't be dealt with." For his part, councilor Ronald Cooper said that a new school might create more problems than it would solve. "When you go going to build a school, who is going to attend it?" he said. "If you put one group in one place and one group in another, then all you have done is isolate two parts of the community." Smith, meanwhile, said that the current controversy could ultimately prompt prompt change. "Maybe something good may come out of all this," he said. "At least it may make the public open their eyes to racism." In the wake of last week's ugly incident, at least that much seemed assured.

MARY KENNETH with JUDITH JONES in Halifax

# Boss of the outdoors

Mulroney picks an ex-Liberal for a key role

**W**ith the election-charged debate over free trade dominating last fall's federal election campaign, Prime Mulroney could devote little time to the agenda for his second term. But while much of his new government's first months will be spent dealing with unfinished business from the first term, such as tax reform and abortion, Mulroney is also taking the time to name the men who will lead the Canadian political landscape of the 1990s. The environment, being one up in Winnipeg. The centre, which will provide science and technology to businesses and governments for consumer growth and environmental protection, is the placed piece of the new Tory environmental program.

For two years, the Tories' internal political Canadian activists has always seemed to occur for the environment. But environmental protection groups frequently attacked Mulroney for his failure during his first term to secure an acid rain treaty with the United States and occurred loss of drinking water to feeding in the federal government's environment department. Mulroney moved last year to debate some of that controversy by paying more attention to the environment. On April 27 in Washington, he chaired the U.S. Congress for taking to some on acid rain and, in June announced a \$112-million cleanup of the St. Lawrence River. That same month, he placed the environment on the agenda for the economic summit of the leaders of the world's seven major industrial democracies in Toronto. And on Sept. 28, in his address to the United Nations General Assembly in New York City, Mulroney delivered his pledge to create the Winnipeg centre.

But the choice of Strong, 56, as the strongest indication yet that the Prime Minister has more than a passing interest in environmental issues. The former president of Winnipeg's Power Corp., the first chairman of Nova Scotia's environmental liberal candidate in the 1989 federal election, Strong has spent much of the past two decades as a key international activist through several United Nations organizations, including the World Bank and the director of the m's environmental program, based in Nairobi, and last 1987. He was also Canada's representative on the influential 22-member World Commission on Environment and Development, headed by former Norwegian prime minister Gro Harlem Brundtland,



Strong: global prestige for Canada

which in April, 1987, issued dire warnings about the devastating economic effects of global pollution. Mulroney has supported the Brundtland report's conclusion that long-term economic growth is dependent upon preserving the environment.

Strong was in Geneva last week, promoting the World Economic Forum, and declined to confirm the appointment publicly. He said only that he has been asked to give some advice to the Winnipeg centre and added that he is a strong supporter of the centre's mandate to promote technological solutions in the environmental domain that accompanies much of the economic expansion in the developing world.

With his credentials as a businessman and international finance expert, Strong is well-suited to represent the new thrust of environmentally benign industrial growth and is given the centre as international profile and credibility. In keeping with the heightened attention to environmental policies, the Prime Minister is also expected to make his environment inside—those duties are currently performed by Secretary of State Lucien Bouchard—a member of the powerful priorities and planning committee of cabinet. That would be another indication of the rising political importance of environmental issues—and of the Prime Minister's recognition that aggressive pursuit of them can only enhance his global reputation.

BRIAN WALLACE in Ottawa

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# The cucumber scandal

*A minister resigns as an experiment founders*

It was one more setback for the controversial attempt to make a province of seaboard into a cucumber producer. Newfoundland's provincial agriculture minister, Charles Power, resigned from Premier Brian Peckford's cabinet on Jan. 9, declaring that his

cousins did not allow him to work for a government that continued to pump money into a project "that is off the rails." The source of his dispassion: a \$25-million cucumber-

growing complex operated by Calgary businessman Philip Spring and his family on 4-4 acres near St. John's. The province has put \$17 million into the project, which went into full production last fall. But in December, the crop mysteriously died, and the complex, whose operations are now being studied by the government, has not yet started production again. Declared Power, 40, as he announced his resignation, "The straw that broke the camel's back was when I learned that the Springs are spending \$7,000 a day to keep the empty greenhouse lit—so that the snow would melt and not cause us the rust."

St. John's, Peckford, 46, raised questions about Power's decision, accusing him of resigning only to improve his public profile. The popular Power is widely touted as a future potential Tory leadership candidate although he denies having leadership aspirations. Peckford, premier for 10 years, has said that he will lead the party at the next election, expected this year.

The premier has also denied reports that he is getting ready to resign and return to private life. In November, 1987, the St. John's *Star* and *Express* said that Peckford had accepted an executive position from Craig Dobbin, chairman of Canadian Helicopters Corp., a helicopter charter company in St. John's. Since then, Dobbin has continued to insist that the premier accepted the job offer first that he backed down after the report appeared about his impending resignation. Last week, Peckford again maintained that he accepted no such offer, and he has accused Dobbin of being part of a conspiracy to force him to resign. The premier has said that he still has two main goals on his political agenda: bringing the huge Atlantic Ocean Hibernia gas field into production by the early 1990s and further development of hydroelectric power production in Labrador.

The cucumber complex at the centre of the squabble has had its detractors from the start. Critics claimed that in Newfoundland's rainy climate, the expense of insulating the necessary growing lights would make production costs so high that the complex would have to sell its cucumbers at a loss. Indeed, Spring cucumbers went on the market in Nova Scotia last summer for as little as 50 cents each—\$1.00 less than the production cost. Then, in December, the plants at the complex—which had been producing about 75,000 lb. of cucumbers per week—suddenly began dying. Spring claimed that there had been sabotage—and offered a \$10,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the culprit. But in his resignation statement, Power dismissed Spring's accusations, blaming the crop failure on poor management. Declared Power, "The claim is similar to what comes out of the back end of a certain agricultural animal." For his part, Peckford has said that the Spring complex is merely undergoing growing pains. But even in a province where residents have traditionally been more concerned with fish than vegetables, cucumbers will clearly be on the political agenda for months to come.

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CANADA

## Deadly coastal spills

### Oil slicks are threatening both coasts

On the Atlantic and Pacific coasts last week, the threat was again: winter storms hounded attempts by the Canadian Coast Guard and volunteers to deal with oil spills that have killed hundreds of birds and killed shorelines. In Newfoundland, the coast guard detained the Liberian-registered tanker

480 ton of the island's leaders and that government agencies were slow in responding to the spill. For his part, B.C. Environment Minister Bruce Strachan blamed the coast guard. "The coast guard made an assumption on or about Dec. 20 that the oil slick would not affect our coastline," declared Strachan. "And



B.C. naturalist William McArthur and oil-spill victims: pools of oil

that was obviously the wrong conclusion." Coast guard spokesmen said that they had not initially acted wrong because they believed that the northerly current would keep the oil away from land. The gales that blew the slick ashore, they added, had been unexpected. The U.S. Coast Guard said that it had expected the heavy seas to break up the spill.

But a week after the large west went, thousands of gallons of oil—and thousands of seabirds—washed up on the Washington shoreline. And on New Year's Eve, a lightwave keelboat at Comber's, on the Pacific Ocean side of Vancouver Island, spotted the advancing slick, which washed the beaches three days later. Sent Charles Janda, chief

ranger at Washington state's Olympic National Park. "Seagulls—eagles and cormorants—are eating the contaminated dead birds. It's getting into the food chain. The effects are so subtle, I doubt we'll ever know the true extent of the damage."

As for compensation, Fisheries Minister Thomas Siddons and acting environment minister Lucien Bouchard announced that the federal government will help people eagle damage claims against the eagle owner, Susan Ross. Ocean Tracing Co. of Chesley, Ont., which has admitted responsibility for the spill. Chief Simon Lucas of the Nanaimo-based Indian council, north of Tofino, whose members live off the sea, said "This oil may affect us for years. It affects the chain of life we depend on." The impact on the local industry may be dramatic. The Tofino and Long Beach Chamber of Commerce announced last week that a just-completed study estimates the regional tourism industry is worth \$14.3 million annually, supporting 95 businesses and 371 full-time jobs. Sent Dorothy Baret, owner of the Tofino Sea Kayaking Co. "The fishermen keep calling it a miser spill, but I am hardly convinced what a major spill would be like because we have all so much and miles of rocky and sand coastline."

In Newfoundland, the coast guard reported Friday that while there were reports of oil-covered dead and dying birds on the beaches, "very little" oil had reached the shoreline, and helicopter pilots could find some oil on Blower, but residents were slowing the sea and air search for further evidence of the size of the spill. The Northern Thunder was impounded after the coast guard found oil on the beach at Gooseberry Cove and Fair Haven, 15 miles south of the yacht's destination—the refinery at Come-by-peace at the north end of the island. The beach samples were analyzed and compared to oil on the ship. The tanker will not be allowed to leave until the Liberian owners at the Greek operators post a \$360,000 bond. The Canada Shipping Act provides a maximum fine of \$200,000 for oil at all.

While second on order coast was prepared to estimate how long the cleanup would take or what the costs would eventually be, history offered a sobering comparison. In 1982, 127,000 gallons of oil escaped from a ship at the harbor of Port Angeles, Wash. The eventual cost of that cleanup: \$30 million.

REAL QUEEN'S HANOVER

## MOVE OVER, FAULKNER

As the winner of the 10th annual GAC literary contest, Bret Harnemann found stellar competition. This year, the more than 3,000 hopefuls included William Faulkner, G. Henry and Franz Kafka; their short stories were entered as a bonus but were rejected by preliminary readers. Instead, the judges chose A Von der Vliet. Harnemann's story about a black maid and her white employers in South Africa, *Sold Harnemann*, 70, a former management consultant who started writing in 1978 when he retired to the Nelson, B.C., area: "I'm astounded."

## In the lead

When actresses Carol Kane, Dianne Keaton and Kathie Gregory were ready to make a movie based on a plot that they developed four years ago, they ran into an unexpected problem—male ego. Kane says that many established actors considered the supporting roles in their comedy about three longtime girlfriends who end in a simultaneous bond too minor for them to consider. Still, she added that Elliott Gould, Jason Mewes Jr., and Adrian Pasdar eventually agreed to do the lead but not the part that is second Söder for *The Come Sisters*, scheduled for release in September. For her part, the 36-year-old Kane, who has built a successful career in supporting roles—her latest part is as a ghost of Christmas in the 1986 comedy *Encino Man*—says that she values the movie industry most in the time when female stars dominated the screen. In Hollywood now, she adds, a female star is hard to find.



Kane dominating the screen

## FOREVER YOUNG

After Yves Montand's making a comeback at 67 as one of Prince's greatest loves—himself. In a new musical movie, *First Phase* goes to 25, he plays himself, dancing and singing the love songs that he had his heartbreak songs. But the movie aims to be a major part of his life—his 34-year marriage to actress Brigitte Bako, who died cancer in 1985, and his many affairs, including a fling with Marilyn Monroe. Still, the Dec. 30 birth of his first child—a 19-month, four-ounce son, by his acquisition of sex icon, Corinne Amiel, 38—made it clear for him to turn back the clock. The first he loved the "happiest" actress given him by the French actress, after playing an old man in the acclaimed 1987 movie *Jean de Florette* and *Manon of the Spring*, just as Yves Montand goes to 26 opened in Prince and Queen. For the future, Montand discusses suggestions that growing older will slow him down. He adds, "Only children slow the age of your antennae."

Montand, *Amiel*—barring back the clock



Gretchen Brown and exhausted

## A KNOCKOUT ROLE

After walking away from a reportedly tumultuous marriage to heavyweight champion Mike Tyson, Robin Givens is taking a lot of punches of work. The 26-year-old actress says that she is "bashed from head to toe and exhausted" after a day of playing a woman held hostage by her former boyfriend for the tv movie *The Penthouse*, now filming in Vancouver, where last week Tyson paid a surprise visit that resulted in a melee with photographers. For Givens, who has fled for divorce from Tyson 75, following on 11-month marriage, it was a case of life imitating art.

## Strike one for the record

Former pitcher Ferguson Jenkins, 45, remembered for his pinpoint control, missed out in his first year of eligibility for the baseball Hall of Fame. The Baseball Writers Association of America voted in Johnny Bench and Carl Yastrzemski, but the Chesham, Ind., native came up short—even though he was the only pitcher to strike out more than 3,000 batters while making less than 2,000. Still, his fans are taking up a legendary cry: "Hit until next year."

## SPORTS

## The big fourth down

Football is a small part of the Super Bowl

The Super Bowl is loaded with so much cultural gravity that the National Football League has given a movie treatment. They arrived in 1991 when Kansas City Chiefs owner Lamar Hunt told his commissioner Peter Roemer that the members would establish a tie to the past, add a lot of class and underline the league's class-like Roman carnival surrounding the games. The 1971 game between Kansas City and the San Francisco 49ers was the first time had been played in Los Angeles in 1967—and the earlier games were played at San Francisco's Candlestick Park. This year, Super Bowl XXII, between the San Francisco 49ers and the Cincinnati Bengals, will take place on Jan. 23 at Miami's Joe Robbie Stadium. Played two days after the inauguration of president-elect George Bush, it will completely dwarf the Washington ceremony, at least as far as television ratings are concerned. Indeed, the Super Bowl may be the most-watched event of the year anywhere in the world, with NBC Sports forecasting that 54 million TV-viewers will tune in for the game—or about 130 million television fans—will tune in.

Most Los Angeles radio stations and sports fans last week predicted that the 49ers will win. Robert Gripton, editor-in-chief for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, said that Americans had bet on the Super Bowl that an any other sports event. More than \$50 million is expected to be bet legally and illegitimately—how different sports to reflect sports will be around \$2 billion.

The 49ers reached the Super Bowl by winning the National Football Conference championship 28-10 over the Chicago Bears in freezing conditions at Chicago's Soldier Field on Jan. 5. On the same day, the Bengals won their place with a 21-13 victory over the Buffalo Bills in Cincinnati to carry the American Football Conference title. Neither team has a winning record—the 49ers are 13 and six and the Bengals 14 and four—but at least some mem-

bers of the American media are taking San Francisco as the team of the decade. San Francisco has won three other Super Bowls, Cincinnati none. On Jan. 34, 1982, they met in Super Bowl XVI when the 49ers won 26-10. But the second round of games is a whole new playing of real status and personality. For one thing, the coaches may be heading their



Montana: a quiet quarterback rebounding from a frustrating season

last game. The 49ers' Bill Walsh, a tough, 57-year-old coach, says that he may retire after the Super Bowl. And the Bengals' Sam Wyche, who got his first big break as coaching from Walsh 10 years ago, says he will likely step down, as will Bush's son, director Steve Spielberg, who says he will likely step down in similar ways. The Bengals led the league in total offense, the 49ers won 16. The Bengals were huge in routing the 49ers last season. The 49ers were 10-6 in losing, the Bengals were 11th. San Francisco, however, has the superior defense—the

major reason for the team's record status. The quarterbacks are a study in contrasts. The 49ers' Joe Montana may join Pittsburgh's Terry Bradshaw, who led his team to victories in 1975, 1976, 1979 and 1980, as the only quarterback to win more than two Super Bowls. The 30-year-old Montana has rebounded from a frustrating season during which he was benched twice. Now sports commentators are calling him one of the greatest quarterbacks ever. He still does not fit the typically confident, over-the-top model and is going quietly into the big game. Said Montana: "This is what we do." The Bengals' Boomer Esiason, the NFL's Most Valuable Player, is a big, loud leader who is rarely without an opinion on the game—or his own performance. After beating the Bills, he declared: "The Super Bowl, I hope it will give me a chance to show off my controversial self."

The actual game, however, has become almost secondary to the celebration that surrounds it. The 14,800 game tickets are selling for between \$100 and \$150 each, with many prices promoting three-month jail terms to anyone found scalping tickets outside the stadium. Meanwhile, NBC TV, which reportedly will sell 37 million for exclusive rights, has sold out its advertising spots for the game. Ad rates have jumped by \$2,500 a second since last year and now cost \$675,000 for a 30-second spot. As for the game, there is a game plan for the halftime show called *It's Hip* scheduled with a cast of 1,000. This year, about 12 minutes will be transferred with the 3-D technique TV viewers can experience by using red-and-white cardboard programs with United States, which Coca-Cola Co. is distributing with purchases of their Coca-Cola variety stores. It will be the first time the 3-D effect, designed by Terry Board for his Los Angeles-based company Numbrix Associates Inc., has been made possible except for use on live television—without distorting the picture for those not using the glasses.

In a further tribute to the Super Bowl, General Motors' Charles Loken has temporarily renamed Main Street on the city's west side. It will be *Golden State* until the game. Said Loken: "I don't think any self-respecting Californian will want to drive on a street bearing the name of the San Francisco quarterback." The game was still more than a week away, but the hype had already kicked off.

WILLIAM LOWMEYER in Washington



Shasta addressing Paris conference: focusing world attention on the dangerous proliferation of chemical weapons

## WORLD

# A POISONOUS THREAT

Some were lying in a state of shock; the first hovering about their faces, some were sitting up gasping for breath with hands and faces of a deep dusky hue, evidently in the greatest distress, over the consequences of infection. We pulled boxes of drugs over to begin working on every. They were the first gas cases from 1918 and 1919—except from the First World War diary of Canadian army doctor William Boyd.

When Boyd recorded those observations on April 28, 1915, chemical warfare was in its infancy. Just six days earlier, the Germans were the first to use the first effective chemical attack in the history of war by lobbing 6,000 canisters of choking chlorine gas at French, British and Canadian troops defending trenches around the Belgian town of Ypres. The terrifying new weapon—which by the end of the war had killed 100,000 soldiers on both sides and injured 1.2 million more—produced a

## REPRESENTATIVES OF 149 NATIONS ARE DETERMINED TO ELIMINATE STOCKPILES OF CHEMICAL ARMS

worldwide revulsion against chemical warfare that has endured for seven decades. In Paris last week, representatives of 149 nations affirmed their determination to eliminate such arms. At the end of a five-day conference, they pledged to redouble efforts toward a treaty that would ban the "development, production,

stockpiling and use of all chemical weapons."

The conference succeeded in focusing world attention on the spread of chemical weapons, which have been acquired by at least eight countries in the past 10 years and were used extensively in the Iranian war. It gave the Soviet Union an opportunity to score a public relations triumph by declaring that it stands to start destroying its stockpile of chemical arms this year. In addition, the meeting provided much-needed political momentum to talks that have been dragging on for 30 years in Geneva on a comprehensive treaty against the proliferation of poisonous gases. Canada's ambassador to the Geneva area talks, Dr. Montgomery Meacham, declared that the Paris conference was a "high degree of optimism" into the complicated negotiations.

At the same time, the conference underscored the major obstacles to concluding a workable ban on chemical arms. Many Third World countries, especially Arab states, ac-

quainted that they would be left at a disadvantage if they were forced to abandon comparatively cheap chemical arms while more-developed states—possibly including Israel—possessed nuclear weapons. And in a delegation debate in Paris, the United States and Libya continued a bitter confrontation over a Libyan factory that American intelligence officials maintain is intended to produce chemical weapons. U.S. officials accuse Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi of seeking to acquire chemical arms for use against Israel—at its supply terminals.

Last week, Gaddafi again denied that charge and called on the new administration of George Bush to "bury this staged and silly policy." But Gaddafi did not allow Western journalists to inspect the controversial factory at Babra, 50 km east-west of Benghazi, which he insisted is a harmless pharmaceutical plant. Instead, in a lecture episode on Jan. 7, Third World countries have begun to acquire materials that could be used with chemical warheads and fired hundreds of miles. In Paris last week, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz warned the "superpowers" of chemical arms "in the hands of governments with histories of terrorism or violence."

Meanwhile, more nations have acquired chemical weapons. As recently as the late 1970s, only the United States, the Soviet Union and France were known to possess such weapons. But according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, that number has grown to at least 12—and U.S. officials say that it may be as high as 22. As well as Iran and Iraq, the list includes Israel, Egypt, Syria and North and South Korea. Added to the growing danger is the fact that many Third World countries have begun to acquire materials that could be armed with chemical warheads and fired hundreds of miles. In Paris last week, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz warned the "superpowers" of chemical arms "in the hands of governments with histories of terrorism or violence."

Observers say that stopping the spread of chemical weapons—and setting up reliable verification procedures—is even more difficult than checking the spread of nuclear technology. Most important, say experts, are the vast differences between the two industries. Nuclear technology is complicated, expensive and usually under state control. As a result, building nuclear weapons is beyond the means of less-developed states, while governments with nuclear capability keep a tight rein on the technology and key ingredients. The chemical industry, by contrast, is dispersed throughout the economy, requires comparatively inexpensive ingredients—and is both competitive and secretive. In addition, chemicals with legitimate economic purposes may, in combination with other ingredients, be used to make deadly weapons. And a giant host to produce chemical fertilizers or drugs may be adapted to make



Kurdish victim: a growing danger in the Third World

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## World Notes

### CHARGES DROPPED

A U.S. federal judge dismissed the two criminal charges against former White House aide Oliver North after Attorney General Richard Thornburgh certified that releasing secret documents would harm national security. North still faces 27 other criminal charges related to his involvement in the Iran-contra case.

### KILLINGS IN LEBANON

At least 80 people were killed in three days of fighting last week as the pro-Syrian faction tried to drive the Israeli-backed Lebanese out of south Lebanon. The two factions are fighting for control of Lebanon's 1.5 million Shiites.

### VETO AT THE UN

The United States, Britain and France, in a rare triple veto, blocked a U.N. Security Council resolution that deplored the shooting down of two Libyan jets by U.S. fighters planes over the Mediterranean and called on Washington to suspend military exercises off the Libyan coast.

### COOLING ETHNIC FEUDS

The Soviet President announced it would establish a special force of administration for the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh, but would leave it within the Republic of Armenia. This compromise was clearly an effort to defuse ethnic clashes and demands by the neighboring Azerbaijan Republic to annex the region.

### ORAIN IN THE SKIES

A British Midland Boeing 737 en route from London to Belfast crashed in central England, killing 44 of the 128 people on board. The engine caught fire, and investigators are examining whether the second engine—which appears to have been functioning—was shut off because of pilot error or a fuel system reading.

### A NEW ERA IN JAPAN

Seventy-five Japanese men killed themselves out of devotion to the late emperor Hirohito in the week following his death. Meanwhile, in new Emperor Akihito, 55, inaugurated his reign, the Heisei index soared 488 points to hit a record high when stock markets resumed after closing for a day of mourning.

### SAETHYMANE HOLY

The father of a man who claimed that he and five others had been rescued from the ruins of a building in Leningrad 25 days after Soviet America's earthquake made up the story to get the best medical help for the respiratory ailments, the government now says. Another man.



Suspect pistol at Rabat: charges that Libya plans to make chemical weapons

posse gas, that switched back at short notice. For that reason, U.S. officials regretted Laly's offer of a courtesy inspection of its Robot plant. Instead, they insisted, frequent visits by experts—with as little as 24 hours' notice—was the only way to ensure that a factory is not secretly making poison gas. Said one American chemical warfare expert in Paris last week: "Without those elements, no one is going to have the confidence that that place is not producing chemical weapons."

Such timing problems have produced a dilemma for advanced countries trying to stop the spread of chemical arms. In Paris last week, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark reaffirmed Canada's policy of to use, production or stockpiling of such arms. But Abdel Basim, External Affairs director of media relations in Ottawa, said that controlling the export of ingredients and technology for chemical weapons is an extremely difficult. "Do you monitor and interfere with every export that can possibly be converted to something that can be abused?" she asked. "Do you try to control the most dangerous exports?" At the same time, Basim said that a few Canadian engineers are believed to be helping Iraq build a chemical factory plant 300 km north of Baghdad, but the firm exporting them is American, not Canadian.

"There is nothing we can do about it," said Clark. "We can control exports from our country, but not adequately."

Canada has taken one step by helping to form the 19-nation Australia Group, which has

agreed to place export controls on some chemicals that are known to be key ingredients of toxic weapons. Canada has listed 14 substances that require licenses from Ottawa before chemical companies can ship them out of the country. But if an effective treaty is worked out, the chemical industry may have to accept other, more intrusive controls, including on-site inspections. Said Nicholas Sims, an official in Ottawa's chemical arms unit: "We want to see the London School of Economics' A global treaty for chemical disarmament will require international verification on a scale never before attempted."

While tensions between developed countries and Third World nations dominated last week's conference, many believe the superpowers are closer to an agreement. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze announced that his country intends to start discussing the chemical weapons this year—seven years before it was expected. He said that the Soviets are helping a plan to destroy their stock of chemical arms, which NATO officials estimate at about 300,000 tons.

The announcement shows U.S. officials are

the defensive. They pointed out that Washington already destroying old stocks of chemical weapons. But the American position was weakened by the fact that the U.S. army resumed production of chemical arms in 1987—after an 18-year halt—to replace decaying stockpiles. And it was further undermined by the debate budget—cancelled last week by President Ronald Reagan—which approved sharp increases in spending on bombs and artillery shells designed to deliver the new generation of so-called heavy chemical weapons. They consist of two chemicals that are harmless by themselves, but are deadly when combined in an explosion.

Washington's plans drew a rebuke from chief Soviet arms negotiator, Victor Karpor. "I don't consider that reasonable contrast," he declared. Conceded Lynn Hansen, assistant director of the U.S. Arms Control Agency, "I know how it looks. But our primary concern is that we protect our security."

The United States was also caught last week in an awkward dispute with one of its closest allies, West Germany. U.S. officials had told American newspapers that five German companies helped Laly build his plant in Bafra. Butia officials expressed outrage, stating that the Americans had not produced any evidence. But, last week, the West German government announced new controls on exports of technology and equipment used in arms production. And a former spokesman later acknowledged that there was, after all, evidence linking West German firms to the Lalyan plant. The same day, authorities in Austria announced the arrest of a Belgian shipping agent on charges of arranging to transport a West German shipment of suspect chemicals destined for Laly by going their destination in Hong Kong.

Bein's embarrassing admission underscored another obstacle to effective control of chemical arms: there is a story to be made in helping to produce the poisons. Experts say that without effective safeguards against both the researchers and the makers of the weapons and the companies that sell them, there will be little progress. James Perry Robinson, an expert on chemical warfare at the University of Sussex in Britain, noted that many of the same nations that condemned Iraq for using poison gas refused to do so because they are helping shipped. He added, "There have to be sanctions against it, or, if not today, will have an effect."

For the arms negotiators in Geneva, that will be just one of many obstacles on the way to finding an effective solution to the spreading threat to poison.



Clark, then problems



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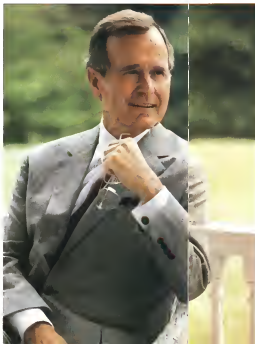


# THE NEW LOOK

## THE ERA OF GEORGE BUSH PROMISED TO BE ONE OF PRAGMATISM, NOT RIGID IDEOLOGY

As George Bush's Constitution Avenue, the scaffolding has been hurried into place, awaiting the 548,000 Republicans who have bought seats for this week's inaugural parade—complete with a parade float featuring George Bush's inaugural sack, cracking pork ribs. As 60,000 VIP guests flooded onto the capital for the five-day, \$30-million bash to inaugurate the 43rd president of the United States, the city's traffic police paid for limousine garb and lack. And handicapped official convention centers awaited their share, including migrants of overnight chaperones, inaugural Texas club and a \$75 set of 10 brass blazer buttons (consisted with the next president's program image). Not only is this year's inauguration billed as the largest and longest-running in history, it is also the most expensive. Tickets for an exclusive black-tie dinner at Union Station cost \$1,600 a plate. And because watch the colored gala starring country singer Lorrie Latta and the Mormon Tabernacle Choir carried a price tag of \$30,000—1,000 times more than the top price for the festivities featuring Jimmy Carter into office.

**Entertainment:** But the steep cost has helped to dampen enthusiasm. So crowded was admission to the Texas State Society's sold-out Black-tie and Bush Ball that an anonymous invitation-seller created a Houston billboard to advertise an offer to pay \$1,200 for a pair of \$80 tickets. And when organizers enticed corporations to pick up the inaugural ball with \$125,000 (almost five times), they were swamped with offers. However, the conservative environmental watchdog group, Citizens Concern, has criticized the arrangement as "no way to start a new administration." Seal Ann McElvick, the organization's senior vice-president, "This clearly provides a way for corporations to give large sums of money to carry favor." Still, it may prove a telling portent of the Bush era. According to Republican political consultant Kevin Phillips, "Ronald Reagan



was a friend of glass, but not the *Fortune* 500. Bush represents the Bushbancracy, old money and Big Business." He added, "This administration will be sort of country club get-together—think of the London, Det. Chamber of Commerce—predictable, capricious and unimpressive."

That view frequently presented in more flattering terms, has been the prevailing one ever since Bush swept to victory last Nov. 8 with a 40-state win—but, unlike Ronald Reagan before him, with no clear agenda or ideology. In fact, most political analysts foresee the next four years under Bush—bearing major ideological strains—in a quiet time of ideological drift and pragmatism, compounded by the contracting reality of a projected \$180-billion budget deficit. Said Stephen Hess, a presidential scholar with Washington's Brookings Institution: "What is the defining principle George Bush has to work around in 1989? Is that there isn't so money."

**Backlash:** The deficit may make it difficult for Bush to fulfill many of his campaign pledges, including his vow to take action against pollutants contributing to acid rain (page 38). And confronted with a Democratic Congress, he may face four years of ideological tug-of-war. Said presidential adviser James Buckley, also of the Brookings Institution: "He may be operating under such constraints that there's not much he can accomplish." In fact, those limitations could provide Bush with an diverting most of his energies to foreign affairs just as the agenda is changed model order that is largely the product of the peace offensive of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Reagan's willingness to embrace it (page 34). Recognizing those facts in a recent interview, Bush himself acknowledged that Reagan's economic legacy was clouding his usual corporate optimism as he prepared to manage the deal he has dreamed of for most of his adult life. Declared Bush: "It's going to be tough. If it weren't for this black-hole budget deficit, I would really be in a lot of a ready state."

Colin Campbell, a Canadian professor of politics at Washington's Georgetown University, says that, in fact, Bushbury is the last product of his own administration. Said Campbell: "He's right when he says he has basically none of the same, only in a kinder, gentler package. Putting last fall's losing election rhetoric behind him, Bush has spent most of the past two months making conciliatory gestures to Congress and minority groups."

**Reverence:** In his cabinet, he has made a point of including one black and two Hispanics (page 32). And last week, after completing the man by naming retired admiral James Watkins as energy secretary and outgoing former education secretary William Bennett as his deputy. Bush must thank to his example. He told a Republican assembly crowd to spend more of the administration's estimated 6,000 portfolio jobs among "Americans who—in the Bush—one party has perhaps done too little to include in the past."

Still, the chief distinguishing feature of Bush's cabinet is that he has chosen people who are in his own image. Many of them, including Secretary of State James Baker, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and Commerce Secretary Robert M. Lauderbach, a Texas oil entrepreneur, are longtime personal friends, trusted pragmatists who share his petrocentric roots and reverence for the public service. And most are, like him, seasoned veterans of the Washington power game.

While Reagan arrived in the White House a secure citizen of Big Government, Bush is a product of it. As

the son of a senator and a former Texas congressman himself from 1967 to 1976, he is in many ways the ultimate Washington insider. And like his 10 of his 17 appointees are veterans of previous administrations. Said Phillips: "He's named a lot of friends basically. You've got a second-level friend administration getting recycled." But that very familiarity has provided few controversies of what new direction, if any, Bush will take. Said Hess: "You've got people long on experience and short on bold new ideas."

But Bush's conciliatory tone and cautious appointments have won him a honeymoon with the media. Black Heritage magazine, who endorsed the White House press corps for allowing itself to be manipulated by Reagan's handlers in his book, On Donald Koss, says that American reporters closely appear to be recording Bush's sense of subliminal. He added, "The press is not really raising the difficult questions."

In part, Heritage says, the uncritical approach of the media is a result of traditional American reverence for the office of the presidency. But he also charges that the Washington press corps is "a palace court press." He notes that in media reports Bush is no longer the man who was accused of rape by a woman, but is playing a many great of political hardball, taking his Democratic opponent Michael Dukakis below the belt with charges of being soft on crime and convicted black rapists. And Bush himself now characterizes his election behavior as "tough." Said Heritage: "It's all left bygone by happenstance. Bush is very statesmanlike and so, in order, will change his public image, characteristically."

**Consolidator:** In fact, Bush's political odyssey over the past year provides a bewildering set of contradictory images. His first newsmaker what many commentators called a "wimp." Then, as the presidential candidate, he was caricatured as a bully, and now he appears as a conciliator, making every effort to avoid confrontation. Most people who know him claim that the current version of the man is accurate. For years, Bush has built a reputation in Washington for his conciliatory gestures. And he has set an estimated \$6,000 personal notes, pecking the man in a latticed pen, representing, complete with typographical errors and the signature, "Sed tyrod." His friends argue that the tough-guy image that he deployed during last year's campaign was part of a game plan imposed by campaign manager Lee Atwater and communications consultant Roger Ailes. But one reason for the confusion about which image represents the true George Bush—and what force his administration will take—is that, despite an expressive rehearsal, Bush has left few ideological imprints on the jobs he has held.

As usual, word-builders have taken on superficial counts. Noting that Bush, an adopted son of Texas, lunches in the White House Mens with a bottle of Texas wine always at hand above his right knee, they predict that he will be responsible for Texas, this and The Men had sweeping the nation. Also mentioned for the new "Tex" kit: country music, hometown-patting Texas cowboy cowboy cowboy cowboy such as the 1980s' millionaire Keri Bush, better known as Willie. Usually seen dragging a battle-axe-chick Barbara Bush onto the vice presidential grounds for a constitutional stroll at dawn, Miller achieved new prominence last week as the star of a news conference. Arriving in the Florida Keys for a fishing trip, Bush sent reporters scurrying for the photos by announcing that "our dog is



# THE DEFICIT MAY MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR BUSH TO FULFIL HIS PLEDGES

premier, we expect poppies in the White House."

But the fishing trip, Bush's third since the November election, also is considered the reason that the White House media corps has spent time watching the finer points of Bush's tactics and strategy here. Not since the Kennedy bookie the ultimate New-Mold New England firm, Brown Brothers, Harman. And every day, after dropping President Bush off at the New York convention station, the family cluster, four would drive George and his older brother Prescott, known as "Poppy," on to the private Greenwich Country Day School in their

limousine. The school is a private boarding school for boys, known as the New York Country Day School, the family cluster, four would drive George and his older brother Prescott, known as "Poppy," on to the private Greenwich Country Day School in their



Nancy Reagan, Bush, Reagan and Barbara Bush, fishing in Florida (below): contradictory images

**Revenge:** Since then, he has also fished in Alabama and Florida and gone golfing in Florida's South Texas country. And he has engaged senior George Plimpton to his former horseback competition. In Sports Illustrated, Plimpton reported that Bush was by making the sport of revenge he felt after losing last year's Iowa caucuses. "Remember Bush," the president-elect declared, "leading his final march to victory. Said one Bush aide: 'It isn't a triumph! It's the White House of Sports.'"

Bush's youngest son, Marvin, 35, a 5-foot-10-inch investment adviser, warned that his father might also resort to sports language to explain his world view. And last week, Bush did that. Asked if he intended to continue Reagan's pursuits with Frank Meyer's *Common Sense*, Bush pointed to a copy of the magazine he replaced with a copy of a sports magazine. "The idea of every other year, game and home, is a good thing, not certainly at a moment when we would be. I'd want to reconsider."

**Reggie:** Bush has said that hunting and fishing have made him sensitive to environmental concerns. But Bush's enthusiasm for sports may partly reflect his determination to establish an image as a regular guy. To that end, he once challenged a *New York Times* reporter to check his bedroom clock radio so that she could see if it was set to a country music station. But his father says that it is an open-class New England note, not his acquired Texas tenor, that will provide the key symbols of his presidency.

It is from the patriotic nostalgia that George Herbert Walker Bush, known to his family as "Poppy," springs. His father, Prescott, who died in 1972, was an investment

the same fraternity house and earned admission to the exclusive, prestigious and secret Skull and Bones Society.

Bush has acknowledged that he was terrified of his stern father—"that scary old man." And some academic psychologists say that he has spent most of his 64 years trying to please his father and a succession of subsequent father figures, from former boss Richard Nixon to Reagan. But watching President Bush devote energy to town meetings and hospital boards, he learned the value of public service. And his friends say that the upper-class sense of social responsibility, which has been the guiding force



of his political career, will help shape his presidency. Already, he has tried to convey that concept by paying tribute to private sector volunteers in "Yellowed points of light." Sen. Mervyn Dymally, a former undersecretary of state in the Reagan administration. "He approaches things from an entrepreneur point of view—a sense of obligation, someone who. And that's a very noble tradition in American political life, one [Franklin D.] Roosevelt came from."

**Bernstein:** That same sense of duty informed Bush's decision after he volunteered to become the youngest pilot in the navy at 18. On Sept. 2, 1944, when he realized that a Japanese plane had scored a hit on his Avenger bomber, engulfing the cockpit in black smoke, he first thought was that he had to finish his own torpedo run, lifting an enemy radio station. It was only afterward that he belatedly saw, missing a Distinguished Flying Cross.

From his mother, Dorothy,

who at 87 sat writers on an exclusive Florida island and winters on the family compound in Kennebunkport, Me. Bush learned two qualities that were to color his presidency: the value of the quiet, solitary life and the value of the public service. And he learned that his children to long about their accomplishments, which may explain Bush's awkwardness in selling himself as a candidate. And after eight years of complete loyalty to Reagan, even serving his 28-hour capture aboard the *Exeter*, Bush too, expects the same of his staff.

**Woods:** Bush's mother continues to exert such a powerful influence on his life that five years ago, as president of the Senate, he was forced to look at a vote for nerve-gas protection, he as feared her wrath that he asked Reagan to call her in. In fact, after Bush returned from the war to marry his college sweet-heart, Barbara, and graduate from Yale, they decided to move to Texas in part to escape his family's overpowering influence. Bush likes to talk about packing his eldest son, George Jr., now a 43-year-old Texas colonel, into the Gulf Stream and driving west to make his fortune. But he first worked selling of equipment for a company that had his father on its board. And two years later, his uncle awarded \$500,000 that his family was in on an exploration business.

**Skill:** In a way sport—fishing a hobby with a profitable net door—in the blue-collar Texas town of Dallas, Bush grew up in his escape from privilege. And there, too, he became acquainted with personal tragedy. In 1953, overnight, his Bush's three-year-old daughter Robin developed leukemia and, helped, they watched her condition worsen over the next eight months. When Robin died, Barbara Bush cried her husband with public-speech through. "He told me in his sleep," she said, "that 'Let me wrap my arm and not be so sure to people.'"

**Unsettled:** Barbara Bush is now fiercely protective of her husband. When she faced over the media portrayal of her husband in cold and unemotional last

year, she took to the road with her personal slide show. Among her snap shots, half a dozen toddlers-cherishing over a sleep-eyed man in pajamas he called "Uncle George." At a University of Virginia podium, pointed out, Bush as the family man that Reagan only said jobs in his administration.

**Florida:** any that Bush's own fishing dream of the White House appeared hopelessly out of reach only four years ago. After being almost released for his much-wronging during his 1984 campaign against Democratic vice-presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro, he thought of an uncharacteristic expression and talked of dropping out of politics. But Baker, the friend whom Bush had once distracted from mourning his wife's death with a political job, called him by sketching the battle plan that comes Bush to the White House this week.

**Dwelling:** Now that he stands on the threshold of his dream, he faces daunting challenges. Faced to reduce the budget deficit and committed not to raise taxes, he will also have to manage a \$130-billion bailout of the crumbling sewage and low industry and a \$90-billion mode reduction of the nation's skyrocketing nuclear weapons plants. But Bush also faces a time of unprecedented opportunity, including the possibility of concluding future arms agreements with a newly emerging Soviet Union.

New George Bush's decision to leave his mark on the White House is, of course, impossible for anyone, even Bush, to predict. But his role may be simplified by the fact that there are few high expectations for his presidency. After all, many of the country's political leaders were underwhelmed when they came to power. And should he falter, Bush can always fall back on his well-practiced, self-deprecating sense of humor. Over the past year, he has frequently uttered a Washington National group called the Capital Steps to gatherings in his home. And at his Christmas party, he entertained guests by forcing the group in a scold of himself singing, "I want to be the vice, Ron, I want to be just like you."

What made the old farm was that everyone listening knew that, above all, George Bush is determined to be his own man.



Inauguration preparation: from ramp to bully in conciliator

was said. "The Reagan rhetoric was fairly, but the reality was his family was a man." In contrast, Bush's daughter, Dorothy H. Bush, calls him "the most sensitive human I know." And after all, no,

With grandchildren: there will be poppies in the White House



MAURICE McDONALD in Washington

# A FAVORITE 'GRANDMOTHER'

## BARBARA BUSH LEAVES THE SHADOWS

She wears her trademark three strands of Ellis Island pearls, she says, to hide the wrinkles at her neck. And she has refused to dye her white curls ever since a hairdresser's application of Polaskin Press tint resulted in an overcooked pink shade. Besides, she says, people who worry too much about their hair are boring. She calls herself "everybody's grandmother," but her conversation can be pithy and blunt, spiced with such expressions as "Well, so." And she likes to put a crowd at ease by clanking her public mugs (one occurred at a rally in San Antonio, Tex., during last year's presidential campaign when she heard a photographer shouting, "Will that lady in the red dress please get out of the picture?" Barbara Bush sweetly inquired, "My last, of it is.")

**Rebelling:** But in the American Ancestress First Lady this week, Bush may have trouble adding new sulflower associates to her well-departing repertoire. Stepping out from her husband's—and Nancy Reagan's—shadow at last, the 63-year-old mother of five and grandmother of 16 is about to become one of the most-watched women in the world. Already, word scores are being hit for her no-nonsense style as the harbinger of a refreshing era that could liberate American women from the tyranny of dieting, face-lifts and high fashion.

Close to Nancy Reagan's California girl, her trademark designer dresses and hair, gray-haired but glowing with life, she has captured an "essential life hands-off our street corners, it gets done." With Barbara Bush, taste-makers predict the return of blue-blood Yankee aristocracy—and what New York City married couple, Fifth Avenue coats the "Eligible Girl" look. "Barbara is a very nice lady, struggling with her life as young as they get older, and she's saying, 'Don't bother,'" said Peters. "What's wrong with looking 60 instead of looking like in secret 12-year-old?"

Bush has been understanding the part of First Lady for the past eight years. Social calamities are problems that her White House will be short on pomp and protocol, long on gracious informality, an informal cordiality shared with the joys and vicissitudes of the 22-member Bush family. In fact, Bush is already turning out much of the Best Wing media sportswriter's pleasure for granddaughters, although she has decried that some of them will

be allowed to make decisions.

For Bush, the White House will be her 20th wedding in 44 years of a superlative marriage to "the first man I ever loved." They met at a Conservative Christian party when Barbara was 16, the daughter of the publisher of *John's Magazine*, Marvin Press, and a president of the affluent New York City suburb of



Bush: taste-makers predict the return of Yankee blue-blood aristocracy

Rye. She was on vacation from the exclusive Ashley Hall boarding school to Cauderston, S.C. George Bush, a young 17-year-old senior from Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass., asked a friend to introduce him to the laughing brunette in a red and green dress. He could not wait, but she thought he was so wonderful that, she recalls, "I could hardly breathe." They were married before he went off to war in 1943, flying a torpedo bomber soloed with his name.

**Tough:** When he came home a hero, after being shot down, she dropped out of South College to marry him at 18. Her sister got hit down at a hardware store one summer. But as her husband made his fortune as the Texas oil

business, then his reputation as a politician, "blue," as he called her, found her career in their loss—George Jr., Jeff, Neil and Marvin—and daughter, Dorothy. Bush says that she has "strived" more little-league games than any living woman. "And it was the only sport in which I was truly disappointed—The Ladies, as you Neil nicknamed her. That tough side only surfaces in public when she senses that a lonely member is under attack. In 1984, she called her husband's vice-presidential opponent Geraldine Ferraro "that 34 million—I can't say it, but it rhymes with 'uh'."

**Outraged:** Her social conscience emerged in the summer of 1958 when she drove three of her children from Texas to Miami, accompanied by two black lobbyists. When hotels in the South refused to rent rooms to the black women, Bush was so outraged that she either talked them into changing their meals or walked out. Said Orla Taylor, one of the two women: "She didn't go anywhere we couldn't go." In that spirit of racial equality, Bush is expected to name Rosa Parks, a black leader

# AN AMBITIOUS NEW TEAM

## BUSH CHOOSES A SLATE OF VETERANS

In his presidential campaign, George Bush proved to be a man of few words and whose choice to lead administration. But he has, in fact, chosen mostly tested veterans for their knowledge of Washington and their political pragmatism. Among the most prominent selections:

**James Baker:** As secretary of state, Baker could prove to be among the most influential cabinet members in modern times, exerting influence over a wide range of foreign and domestic policies. A 56-year-old Texas lawyer who is one of Bush's closest friends, Baker served as Reagan's chief of staff and then secretary of the treasury until he resigned last August to run the Bush election campaign. At the state department, he is expected to seek more international economic cooperation than his predecessors. And as a chief proponent of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, Baker will likely pursue warm relations with Ottawa.

**John Sununu:** As chief of staff, Sununu, 43, is likely to be strong-willed and staunchly conservative. His appointment was regarded as a concession to right-wing Republicans. He served three years as governor of New Hampshire and was one of the national co-chairmen of the Bush election team. Jewish groups criticized his appointment because Sununu, who is of Lebanese descent, was the only one of 30 state governors who refused to sign a condemnation of a 1987 resolution expelling Zionism with racism.

**John Tower:** Bush delayed his choice of the new secretary of Defense for a month while the war-shielded senators about Tower's reported drinking and womanizing and investigated what some critics considered his laxer contacts with the defense industry. Tower, 63, will now have to provide over cuts in defense programs—expected to total several hundred million dollars—as Bush moves to reduce the federal budget deficit.

**Elizabeth Dole:** The naming of Dole as secretary of labor seemed partly a gesture to her husband, Senate majority leader Robert Dole of Kansas, who fought a vicious campaign against Bush for the Republican presidential nomination. Elizabeth Dole, 58, served as secretary of transportation from 1983 to 1987. Her experienced goals as labor secretary include providing child care for working mothers and increasing the minimum wage.

**Jack Kemp:** This designated secretary of housing and urban development is Bush's most conservative cabinet choice. But the now-term Republican congressman from Buffalo, N.Y.—who had also



Tower facing cuts in defense



Baker: warrior to Ottawa



Dole: to provide child care



Kemp: the most conservative

betted Bush for the presidential nomination—has a reputation as a coalition builder. Kemp, 53, a former professional football quarterback, is expected to move away from subsidies for low-income housing and to support programs that allow public housing residents to purchase their apartments.

**Dr. Louis Sullivan:** The only black to be named as far, Sullivan encountered controversy even before Bush selected him as secretary of health and human services. Sullivan, 52, president of the Manhattan School of Medicine in Atlanta, was quoted in December as saying that women should be free to have abortions—prooking protests from rights-to-life groups. Since then, he has said that he supports the Bush view that access to abortions should be severely limited.

**Lt.-Gen. Brent Scowcroft:** The candidate for national security adviser is a seasoned Washington insider. He held the same job in the Gerald Ford White House and served as the panel that Reagan appointed to investigate the Iran-contra affair. But Scowcroft, 55, has taken positions sharply in odds with the Reagan administration. When Ronald was his cadet toward the Strategic Defense Initiative, or Star Wars. He is expected to keep a low profile, leaving the foreign policymaking to Baker.

**Carle Hill:** As trade representative, Hill will be in charge of implementing the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Critics point out that Hill, 55, a lawyer who served as secretary of housing and urban development under Ford, has little background in trade, and some of them question his ability to function effectively after serving as a lobbyist for foreign clients in the past. She replaces Cynthia Yelverton who played a leading role in negotiating the FTA and has been named Bush's new agriculture secretary.

**William Britch and Manuel Lujan:** Bush clearly intended to strike a balance between conservation and industry concerns when he chose Britch as administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency on the same day that he named Lujan secretary of the interior. Britch, 44, president of the environmental foundations and the World Wildlife Fund, favors tough government action to reduce acid rain. Lujan, 60, the only Republican Hispanic in the House during the 20 years he represented New Mexico, is regarded by environmentalists as a friend of industry for essentially voting for development over conservation.

MARK McDONALD in Washington



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## COVER

most over the use of the North West Passage, which Washington agreed to request prior consent from Ottawa before sending U.S. explorers into Canadian-controlled waters. As well, Bush went on to lead the fight within the administration to avenge \$3 billion in funding promised for an arctic sea study. Noted one senior Canadian diplomat: "It showed that we have a guy in Washington who is prepared to take to the streets of his case."

**Politicians:** Bush's willingness to listen has formed at least cautious optimism among members of Canada's and Ottawa's law lobby. With a freshly cleaned-up Lake Erie gleaming in the sun behind him, Bush—who last year earned himself an "environmentalist"—pledged de-

sert clearly committed to fighting seal runs. John Sweeney, the former governor of New Hampshire who is Bush's new chief of staff, and George Mitchell of Maine, the new Senate majority leader.

Many U.S. analysts, however, are less certain that Bush will act on seal runs, at least within the first year of his administration. Colin Campbell, a professor of government at Washington, D.C.'s Georgetown University, said that the new administration would be severely hampered by the crippling federal budget deficit. "There is just time to focus much attention on seal runs," Campbell said. "It is a pledge of convenience if not a real one."

To not neglect the seal runs, Bush

deeply held protectionist instincts among certain American industries that, in an attempt to test the new approach, are likely to swing the new initiatives that will otherwise disappear. Michael Aho, director of economic studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, predicted a painful initial stage in the implementation of the FTA. "The next couple of years may look like there are more tensions because both sides have got such high expectations," he said. "We have to learn to live with the FTA—and we are not used to having our behavior curbed."

Already, the U.S. government and American industry have a long list of old complaints, ranging from Ottawa's restrictive price mark-ups on U.S. wines to the flood of Canadian exports of salmon and pork. Indeed, last week, the American pork industry asked its government to acquiesce a controversial duty on Canadian pork. And Ottawa announced two weeks ago that it would seek a settlement through FTA panels of two long-standing disputes: Canadian refusal to support low-grade U.S. plywood because of its many large knots, holes, and differences in how the two countries measure the amount of wood in garments for landfill purposes. Deceased Dore, "You are seeing where the deal is, pinching for industries on both sides of the border."

**Barriers:** These disputes are minor irritants in an otherwise strong trading relationship, but the FTA will likely always produce points of friction. Wounded Aho: "How desirable is the agreement? How will both sides believe when the Congress is upset or the Canadian public doesn't like the rash of plant closings?"

But the earliest signal of the state of Canada-U.S. relations will likely emerge from the first meeting between Bush and Mulroney, scheduled for next week. Mulroney has been slow to reassure the savings bill four times a year between the secretary of state—who will be James Baker of the Senate confirms his nomination—and External Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien. As a leveling for the Canadian media in Washington last month, Mulroney noted that Reagan had given Canada "priority and importance." Added the former ambassador: "In this country, you compete for attention, and I think that what Reagan has given Canada is a recognition of the importance of Canada to the United States." As Bush takes office this week, Canadian officials will strive to confirm one common situation—and respect—as the official members of Washington.

WILLY MACKEY: in Washington



Crossing the U.S.-Canada border at Lewiston, N.Y., warnings of a barrage of trade disputes

ing the electric companies to cut "millions of tons" of American nuclear waste emissions by the year 2000 is an effort to curb and run. "The question is not whether we will have seal and run control legislation," said André Blais of the Toronto-based Canadian Council on Arctic Run. "It is whether we will have legislation to take enough politicians out of the air over two countries."

**Stalled:** This between the two sides over setting a clear timetable for specific reduction levels of sulphur dioxide levels down last summer and remains stalled. Blais says that Canadian pressure since William Brock's resignation as secretary, U.S. legislators will ultimately pump funds into a cleanup program—estimated at \$3 billion—because "they have problems and they know it." She added that another topological fix for environmentalists in the political assistance of new New Englanders who

would likely have to propose a funding formula that will spread the cost of the cleanup program among the different regions of the country—and then steer the compromise agreement through a Democratic-controlled Congress. Paul Hunsicker, political director at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, declared that "our logical fear is the threat of a grid lock between the Congress and the administration" that could paralyze any action on seal runs. However, says Dore, "if there is continued economic growth in the second year, you will likely see action on seal runs and not just more research and development."

Analysts sketch a similar story of caution over the newly signed Free Trade Agreement. American observers say that the FTA, which took effect on Jan. 1, brought Canada international respect as a nation trading and commercial partner. But they add that it also started



## GORBACHEV HAS FORCED AMERICANS TO RESPOND TO HIS PEACE OFFENSIVE

ing. "Of course and the Soviet Union renewed their pre-1960 political-military alliance, and there's no sign of that." Or, as one Chinese said in an American letter: "What are you worried about? That will be our first summit with the Soviets in 20 years. You've had five already."

At Beijing, Moscow's closest ally in each corner, Southeast Asia's regional conflict—in which a guerrilla coalition has been fighting for 10 years to oust Vietnamese forces occupying

Kampuchea—seemed near to resolution. "Peace will be at hand within the first six months of 1989," predicted Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Ca Thach, after Hanoi unveiled a plan for a complete military withdrawal by September. But mutual suspicion among the three Kampuchean resistance groups remained. And there were widespread fears of a postwar takeover by the strongest of the three groups—Pol Pot's Khmers Rouges, which massacred hundreds of thousands of civilians when it was in power from 1975 to 1979.

**Comment:** In Central America, Gorbachev's apparent distance for internationalism may well reduce regional tensions. A moderating factor could be his widening strategic rift with Cuba's Fidel Castro, the old-style Communist leader who has been a firm supporter of leftist movements in the region and who once Moscow's surrogate thorn in America's side. Bush is generally considered unlikely to try to revive the failed Bay of Pigs policy of using the Castro rebels to bring down Nicaragua's Marxist Sandinista regime. And in El Salvador, Bush's announced plans to ease the 100-hour ban on electoral reform for the far left. In March 1990 presidential elections, the candidate of the extreme National Republican Alliance is expected to defeat that of the moderate, U.S.-backed Christian Democrats. Such a defeat would seriously set back U.S. plans to denounce El Salvador while helping its army win the eight-year guerrilla war.

Regional regional conflicts, then, will also face challenges of a different sort. In Western Europe, the 13 nations of the European Community (EC), moving toward full economic integration by 1992, seem far more affluent, powerful and unified than when Reagan took office in 1981. This EC is increasingly inclined to



Soviet troops retreat from Afghanistan threatening to postpone their final withdrawal

Gorbachev's peace offensive. As the threat of Soviet aggression recedes, those countries may increasingly appear spending huge sums on defense. At the same time, the Bush administration is likely to come under congressional pressure to make the Europeans pay a bigger share for their own security. That could weaken NATO's lead in opening arms-reduction talks with the Soviet bloc and inhibit plans to upgrade NATO's short-range nuclear arsenal.

**Speculation:** In Eastern Europe, the Soviet bloc continues all its shuffling differently to Gorbachev's liberalizing policies. Many leaders are delaying any changes until they feel sure that Gorbachev can prevail over his domestic opposition. Only Hungary has moved closer to Western-style democracy with last week's announcement that opposition political parties would be tolerated. The Czechoslovak and East German regimes have resisted change. Meanwhile, the East German leader the Soviet magazine *Sputnik* "progressive," wrote words of an official disclaimer. The aging and repre-

sive Bulgarian leadership has tried to consolidate its public with increased supplies of consumer goods. Neighboring Romania has the worst human rights record of any Eastern Bloc country.

**Collage:** On the other hand, the Polish government has been asking for wider recognition of Solidarity, the banned trade union movement, as a step toward helping ailing U.S. aid for its crippled economy. Meanwhile, across the Soviet bloc, Communist Yugoslavia is sliding toward collapse. Its government—unable to cope with 250-per-cent inflation, corruption scandals and a \$13-billion foreign debt—was signed last month, while its bloody civil war, was convulsed by ethnic tensions.

In Vietnam last Friday, the 35-nation Con-

ference on Security and Co-operation in Europe unanimously agreed on a watershed package of human rights guarantees. They are designed to ensure freedom of religion, information and travel and, said Canadian chief delegate Willem Buizer, are "broadly and more easily understood" than the Helsinki human rights agreement of 1975. It was another sign that the world George Bush will face on Jan. 20 is less dangerous than that of eight years ago. But if less menacing, it is also more complex. With Gorbachev's peace offensive blurring the lines of East-West confrontation, Bush and his foreign policy advisers will need the vision and flexibility to help define a new—and more permanently peaceful—world.

**JOHN HERRMAN with WILLIAM COWFAR in Washington**  
**ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Moscow**  
**JOHN SALVENDY in Jerusalem**  
**JOHN GRASSMOS in Cape Town**  
**and Rome reports**

## MEDIA WATCH



## Substance versus fabricated fury

BY GEORGE BAIN

**T**he Halifax Chronicle (Halifax's lead headline on Dec. 28) and "Refugees eagerly perished." A three-column article below said: "Miss deportation will follow—lawyer." The same day, at the other end of the country, the main story on the same subject—the just-renounced treaty by which Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall proposes to sort out genuine foreign-born claimants to refugee status—ran in *The Vancouver Sun* under the punchy subheader "Refugee plan knocked." In Calgary, the editors of the *Alberta* reduced the story to one related solely to refugee claimants in Calgary, under the heading "Refugees fear life's limbo."

What is news first in the treatment given this national story in three newspapers is an oddity because nonsensical. It is the subordination of news not previously covered in the same column—McDougall had spoken in Toronto just eight days after the day before—in the *Toronto Star*. As a result, the attribution *The Chronicle-Herald's* resident had to McDougall's plan was to learn that they were "passed" and would provide news departments offering substance the production of news departments to critics. The Canadian Press news agency said: "The Chronicle-Herald's headline associated it with only one person—Toronto immigration lawyer Mervyn Green, who said there would be 60,000." Beyond McDougall herself, who did not pass her own program, and the character Green, the story quoted only one other person, the chairman of a local refugee group, who said: "There is a great potential for abuse under the new system."

Sill, *The Chronicle-Herald* was no more sweeping on its headline over an agency story than *The Vancouver Sun* was in its lead over a story by staff reporter Kevin Griffin and Doug Ward, its in-house correspondent to the headline "Refugee plan knocked" drew lead paragraph and more easily. "The federal government's intention to provide refugee claimants with a case-by-case review has received widespread criticism." Four of five persons quoted were silent

*No one who knows journalism could pretend that reaction, or follow-up, stories aren't most often cooked to order*

critical, but for reasons as varied as to cancel one another. They extended from fear that the \$300-million cost of the new screening program would produce refugees against others at large to questions about the government's guts in not simply choosing out all eligible refugees about whose doubts created at all. The *Halifax Chronicle* spoke of the established Sikh community, spoke of a worldwide of anti-immigration sentiment. "Every day they ask us, 'What is going to happen?'" It's a very long one, and every one of them a scandal."

The Calgary Herald, having reported under a just headline—New Britain, skill, service, and the Canadian Press—said that "many of Calgary's 1,100 refugee claimants fear Canada's new plan... will mean deportation to Vietnam and possible death," revealed in a second paragraph the slender basis on which that must. Several (three) then two or three, but not many. "Calgary refugee claimants had called a worker at the local Immigrant Council for refugees to ask questions. The story quoted a local person other than McDougall's spokesman for the Minnesota community, who was not critical, the worker for the Immigrant Council for Refugees in Calgary "immigration combined," and an anonymous refugee claim-

ant who said, although not within quotation marks, that in his homeland he had been tortured. That indirect quote was the closest the story came to supporting the assertion that many feared "deportation to torture and possible death." The substance of McDougall's plan was dispatched in eight random sentences.

How could that be news to a government policy to deal with a modern and national problem. Those stories were what used to be called follow-up. But, as is increasingly the case, they were follow-up to which the news itself was rendered incidental, buried under the rehash. Because of that, the newspapers, of which the *Halifax Chronicle* was only one, rarely acknowledged themselves to be second-statement sources of information that they were prepared to assume their readers would have got first from radio and television. As the noncompetitive advantage newspapers have over the broadcast media in dealing with the substance of news establishes the strongest justification for their continuing to exist, newspapers do themselves no favor when they allow themselves to be seen performing as a sort of tail to the electronic kite.

What is also wrong with the growing practice of treating news of public policy as a vehicle to deliver the product of activist groups is that it is that a leaders' responsibility—as witness not just the stories cited, but those in *The Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail* on that same day, Dec. 28. Those newspapers reported what they said the minister had in mind, but led with the government's failure to declare an amnesty ("No amnesty for 80,000 refugees"—the *Star*). "No amnesty for refugee claimants/Thousands face deportation"—the *Globe*. In fact, the prospect of an amnesty arose mainly in media speculation and had no previous mention in the minister's. As Carol Goss, the *Star's* Ottawa columnist, said on page 10, in contrast to the shock-horror front on page 1, "It should have come to no surprise to anyone, yesterday, that McDougall ruled out a New Year's amnesty. It was a tough, unimpassioned stand, one very much characterized by the government."

There is no argument here against the place of follow-up, or reaction, stories in journalism. Still, no one who knows journalism could pretend that reaction stories aren't most often cooked to order by seeking out people whose views are predictable. But this is not a new story. It is a very long one, and every one of them a scandal. Perhaps, if Canada's immigration system had not been in a mass for years, there would not be so many immigration lawyers and so-called immigration consultants to counsel struggling or attempts to make it more straightforward. But this is not a new story. It is a very long one, and every one of them a scandal. Perhaps, if Canada's immigration system had not been in a mass for years, there would not be so many immigration lawyers and so-called immigration consultants to counsel struggling or attempts to make it more straightforward. But this is not a new story. It is a very long one, and every one of them a scandal.



## BUSINESS

# PROFITING FROM WASTE

Statistics show that Canadians are among the most waste-producing people on earth. On average, they generate one ton of refuse per capita annually. The problem of waste disposal affects almost all major urban centres across the country, but nowhere is it more severe than in Metropolitan Toronto and four surrounding municipalities. Indeed, the problems of the area's 1.7 million residents represent a potentially dark future for the rest of Canada. Landfill sites in Metro Toronto and the regional municipalities around it are nearly full, and not a single new dump is currently being developed. Because the municipal politicians have

## FAILING TO FIND AN ANSWER, THE GOVERNMENT TURNS TO BUSINESS TO DISPOSE OF THE WASTE PROBLEM

### Mountains of trash in a Toronto dump fortifies the disposed business

been unable to solve the industry, Ontario's environment ministry is now seeking private-sector solutions. So far, the ministry has received dozens of proposals from companies who foresee a financial windfall in garbage. Sam Nagel-Gaillard, president of Burlington, Ont.-based Landfill Waste Systems Ltd.: "The potential is almost limitless."

The commercial potential of garbage dumps has soared over the past year because of steep increases in the so-called municipal tipping fees, which are levied against waste from businesses and industries. Last May, Toronto's fees jumped to \$80 per ton from \$15 per ton. Next month, Metro Toronto is expected to approve another increase to \$85 per ton. The municipalities contend that fee increases will force business and industry to reduce their garbage disposal, which would save space in the landfill sites. At the same time, the municipalities are trying to encourage industrial recycling and are desperately searching for new dump sites.

However, the private sector has developed a number of plans to solve the garbage disposal problem—and to earn billions of dollars in the process. For one, Canadian National Railway Ltd. of Montreal wants to build the region's garbage-to-gigantic compost plant and other items proper to empty it into incinerators; companies, burn it to produce energy and even turn it into liquid that can be used as fertilizer.

Others already spend nearly \$3 million annually shipping 90,000 tons of burnable garbage to incinerators in Niagara Falls, N.Y., because its dump is almost full.

When Metro Toronto and its four surrounding regional municipalities, Landfill is one of only two private companies with landfill proposals before the provincial government. Gaillard and the company want to expand a 56-acre dump it owns in Durham Region to 300 acres, which would also be the current crisis. After holding public meetings to explain the plan, Gaillard says he expects officials here to agree that this is the best way to solve the problem that will rule on both a long-term and environmental basis.

If the company succeeds, the landfill could produce small amounts of power by burning 800 tons and a quantity of 800 million tons. Landfill stands to earn \$10 million from the operation. Indeed, Gaillard is so sure that Gaillard will, "if there were a permitted site in the region, people would be beating down our doors to sign contracts to use it."

The potential bonus from garbage has also

attracted Toronto businessman Stephen McKinach, who passed a \$150 million in October by paying \$150 million for the real estate assets of the Chalko, N.C.-based PTL Ministries, which was once controlled by disgraced televangelist Jim and Tammy Bakker.

In the spring of 1988, McKinach quietly paid \$2 million for a privately owned 60-acre landfill site at Inland Township, with a population of 14,528, 70 km north of Toronto. David Roddy, operations manager of Metro's Spider Maple Ltd. Co. Ltd., says that another McKinach-owned company is experimenting with a waste process that turns hazardous debris into fuel for incinerators, but Roddy was unable to say when the plan would be ready.

Because landfill proposals are politically unpopular, governments and the private sector are now searching for innovative alternatives. McKinach has tried that a consortium led by Landfill and an major shareholder, Montreal-based G. Ltd., is developing plans to build a huge recycling plant somewhere near Toronto. Garbage would be loaded by truck to a central transfer point and loaded onto railcars for shipment to a plant. The garbage would be separated into metal and nonmetal, and nonmetal, including concrete and asphalt, would end up in landfill sites. Provincial government officials have indicated that the "Golden Horseshoe Megaproject," based on an report by Neil Gaillard and consultant lawyer Harold Fook, declined to reveal their plans.

Another innovative proposal is being developed jointly by Canadian Mineral and environmental engineer Stephen Jones of Waterloo, Ont. Jones, who first designed the system, calls

his plan "Norec," which is short for New Ontario Recycling. Jones says that he wants to build a plant in southern Ontario to recycle glass, metal, paper, wood and other products that can be reused. Any hazardous waste would be loaded on railcars and shipped to designated sites in Northern Ontario to be used as compost. Jones pointed out that most waste represents a huge number of square miles of land in the northern region. He added that trees and other types of vegetation could be planted over the debris if they were first covered by compost from biodegradable waste.

Jones also said that he has located more than 38 potential sites that meet his own criteria of being within a 10-hour train trip from Toronto. Said Jones, "It's a completely new approach to dealing with waste."

And a permanent solution can be found, Metro Toronto is still attempting to stretch out the life of its current garbage dumps by reducing the amount of waste received. McKinach said that the ultimate target is a per-

## Business Notes

### INNOVATION PUSHES ON

Calgary-based Nova Corp. will spend at least \$1 billion over the next five years to expand its natural gas production and gas processing plants in Alberta. Nova said last week that the company is already upgrading its operations to meet growing requests from Alberta gas producers for greater gas transportation facilities.

### A ROSE FORECAST

The Canadian economy will continue to grow in 1989, according to the Conference Board of Canada. The board predicted that Canada's gross domestic product will expand by three per cent in 1989 and by 2.7 per cent in 1990.

### MASSIVE TAKEOVER PLANS

Prospective bidders for General Electric Co. PLC of Britain tried to agree on a consortium that would purchase the London-based manufacturing giant. With an estimated market value of \$12.7 billion, a bid for GEC would be the largest takeover ever attempted in Britain. Meanwhile, Fairfield, Conn.-based General Electric Co., one of the nation's steel makers, said that it will build a \$46-million expansion of its engine-bleed plant in Bromont, Que.

### CLAMPING DOWN

Alberta and Quebec are considering legislation to regulate financial planners, who provide financial counseling services to individuals. Quebec planners would be required to give an examination and to disclose all fees with financial groups. The same is also under study in Ontario and British Columbia.

### FINALS FOR TAKEOVER

Businesses involved last week that Imperial Oil Ltd. will purchase control of Toronto-based Tensar Canada Inc., the Canadian subsidiary of Tensar Inc. of White Plains, N.Y. At the same time, both petroleum and petrochemicals company Tensar Inc. of Montreal announced that it has submitted an offer to purchase Tensar Canada Inc., Canada's fourth-largest oil company.

### A LONELY QUEST

Donald Gidals, 44, resigned after five years as Ontario's attorney for the southern district of New York City. Gidals became known for reluctantly providing huge insider-trading records on Wall Street.

### BROKER LARFIPS

Unsubscribed members dealer Pemberton, Ontario's Whiffles & Bell Securities Inc. had off 60 warrants because of mounting losses.



Gaillard unique approach

thru production in annual volume by the end of 1990. In recent years, the amount of refuse produced had been growing by about eight per cent annually. But with the sharp rise in tipping fees last year, the flow of garbage slowed and annually generated equivalent between 1987 and 1988, says McNamee.

In Ontario, a three-member provincial tribunal recommended that Montreal-based GEC Group, an engineering and construction company, be allowed to build an energy-from-waste facility within the region of Peel. GEC project manager Alexander Ross said that the \$30-million plant would be built in the city of Brampton. GEC would accept about 400 tons of garbage a day. Workers remove metal and other noncombustible materials, and the remaining paper, plastics and cardboard waste would be fed into incinerators at 1,600°C. The heat would be used to produce steam, which would drive a turbine generator.

Ross said that the facility would be able to generate enough electricity to light 5,000 homes. Electricity would be sold to Ontario Hydro, but the main source of revenue would come from tipping fees. The municipality of Peel for dumping as garbage. Ross estimated that the firm will likely range from \$40 per ton to \$50 per ton. "A few years ago, that would have been ridiculous," he said. "But the cost of landfilling is rising astronomically. That's what makes energy from waste attractive."

One way to avoid creating new dumps may be to reuse old gravel pits and limestone quarries as landfill sites. A consortium called Incineration Systems Inc. has proposed one of the largest quarry projects. The consortium wants to lease 175 acres of a worked-out limestone quarry from Brampton, Ont.-based United Aggregates Ltd. to use as a dump. The quarry averages 70 feet and could accommodate 30 million tons of garbage over a 30-year period, says Walter Gosselin, president of Montreal, Ont.-based Concord Waste Systems Ltd., an environmental consulting company and managing partner of the consortium. The project could go before a provincial environmental tribunal by early 1990.

After years of unsuccessful attempts to develop new landfill sites, most government and private-sector experts agree: doubt that the municipalities can solve their garbage problems sustained over the next couple of years. LaSalle's Gofford said that with a cooperative effort between the province, the municipalities and the private sector, alternative methods of disposal can be developed and operating within five years. But Gofford said that the Ontario government will have to provide firm guidelines and rules for private-sector operators because of the major investments required. And the province will not be the only one, says Gofford. The province could be a banana based on garbage for private waste-management companies—and the end of a nightmare problem for the municipalities.

DANIEL JENKINS with ROBERT REGALY and JULIE CAZZINI in Toronto



Royal Bank money traders: a new way to bring international business to Canada

## A tale of three cities

The battle over tax havens with new legislation

One year after Federal Finance Minister Michael Wilson's controversial international banking centre legislation passed, making Vancouver and Montreal, but not Toronto, international banking tax havens, the Pacific-coast city is finally living up to the billing. This week, five financial institutions, including the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC), were given approval to offer international financial services in Vancouver. These services include taking deposits and issuing loans, and profits on the business will earn a large tax break. But Vancouver's success generated only envy in Ontario and Quebec. In Montreal, Canada's other banking tax haven, officials are questioning why a large and important bank like the CIBC did not voluntarily apply for 140-exempt status in their city. And Toronto Mayor Arthur Eggleston, who says that the legislation unfairly discriminates against his city, was angry. Slamming his fist on a glass coffee table in his city hall office, he declared, "This legislation is absolutely absurd as an age when banking is becoming more global. I don't group it."

Vancouver's international financial centre, and similar centres in Montreal, will be the subject of serious scrutiny in the next few months. Government and industry critics have criticized Ontario's and the province's tax legislation, which allows a 50-per-cent combined federal and provincial tax on specific offshore profits generated by banks and trust companies in the two cities. When Wilson introduced the

legislation, it met with strong opposition, and some analysts said that because Toronto—Canada's main banking centre—was left out, the legislation would fail to draw business away from such celebrated tax havens as the Cayman Islands. Now, officials at some of the institutions that are opening centres in Canada say that it is prudent to take advantage of new legislation as a public relations gesture and to please provincial authorities. At the provincial level, some bank executives in Montreal expressed concern that if no institution

Inc. said Michael Goldberg, chairman of B.C. government's international financial centre program. "It is a perfect mix of companies. We are a financial centre that is more diversified, more tightly focused than a London, New York or Hong Kong. We are going to be a boutique."

Montreal still needs Vancouver, with 14 institutions already approved and operating international financial centres. They range from the Banque Nationale de Paris, the National Bank of Canada, two private Swiss banks, the Montreal-based securities firm of Gouffon, Levesque Inc., and an Edinburgh-based company, Aberdeen Fund Managers Canada Ltd. The centres in Vancouver and Montreal will pay up to a 58-per-cent tax on their profits, compared with the Cayman Islands, where they would operate totally tax-free, and Hong Kong, where they face a 10-per-cent levy.

The openings in Montreal and Vancouver may have been motivated more by politics than by tax-free profits. According to one senior bank official, who asked that his name be withheld, some bank officials say that it is prudent to take advantage of new legislation as a public relations gesture and to please provincial authorities. At the provincial level, some bank executives in Montreal expressed concern that if no institution



Goldberg: in a small but powerful banking community

sets up an international financial centre in one city and not the other, provincial and municipal authorities could cause their lucrative provincial accounts with them.

Bank executives also say that when a major bank like the CIBC opens an international branch, other banks are forced to follow. At-

though the Toronto-Ontario bank, the Bank of Nova Scotia, the Royal Bank of Canada and the Bank of Montreal have not yet filed applications in open centres, spokesmen at each of the banks say that they are considering the possibility and may soon announce their decision.

As tax-sheltered banks and other financial operators naturally, legislation is still waging a campaign to overturn the legislation. The City of Toronto, using the federal government as a case based on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which claims that the tax law discriminates on the basis of municipality. A lawyer for the city, Edgar Sorensen, said that the legislation was enacted purely for political purposes and that the federal government has no jurisdiction over municipalities. Next week, the Supreme Court of Ontario is scheduled to consider that motion. Although Eggleston said that he is happy to see Montreal and Vancouver prosper, he added that Canada is choosing to become a decentralized jurisdiction. But meanwhile, bankers in Vancouver and Montreal dispute that claim, saying that they are heading the way to a better financial future for Canada.

ANN WALMSLEY with EUG GOSWAMY in Vancouver

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# Canada's growing economic outreach

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

For trade with the United States has become the Holy Grail of Canadian business, but the really smart operators are protecting their flanks by establishing significant outposts in Europe and the Pacific Basin—and no Canadian financial institution has been more aggressive in furthering Toronto's coast-to-coast Royal Trust.

Nor is the only Canadian trust company with European branches, and its Swiss banking subsidiary recently purchased the venerable fiduciary in Vienna. The 56-year-old firm only has \$120 million in assets, but it specializes in "private banking," which means that its true actions are kept secret from governments and tax authorities. "We all know about Swiss banking confidentiality," Royal president and chief executive officer Michael Connelissen told me, "but it's a little known fact that Austrian banking secrecy laws are far more strict. We have been getting increasing requests from our Canadian clients for truly private banking accounts."

Connelissen has been pushing his firm's foreign expansion since 1983, establishing branches in Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, Amsterdam, Zurich, Geneva and Luxembourg, as well as expanding its previous branches in London. His company raised \$1.3 billion in European equity markets during 1988, and some of its senior debentures have yet been listed on the Luxembourg stock exchange. The Royal Trust president says that, by 1993, fully 40 percent of all corporate revenues will come from non-Canadian sources. And he has good reason to boast: "We are now represented in all financial centers of the world except the United States," he said. "Let us plan to eventually control almost 80 percent of the world's assets in the next two or three years."

Meanwhile, Connelissen says that he is worried about some of the European Community regulations due to come into effect in 1992—particularly a rule allowing chartered banks to operate solely "house currency" rather than to control. That could mean that most interna-

*With free trade, the really smart operators are protecting their flanks by establishing new outposts in Europe and the Pacific Basin*

tional lenders will opt for incorporation here in Athens because Greece enjoys the least-stringent regulations.

Instead of trying to go head-to-head with the major chartered banks, Royal Trust chooses to concentrate in those specific niches: private banking (wealthy individuals who live globally and require investment discretion); asset management (mostly for pension or mutual funds); and specialized corporate financial services (banking as equity capital for growth-oriented but limited access to major-bank financing). "We can provide the latter because we have a few lawyers between our senior managers and operating people," Connelissen said in comparison. He added: "Those large for-profit banks, which must have huge bureaucracies to survive, can't be flexible enough to tailor deals for specific situations. It's a one-size-fits-all business, highly profitable, and doesn't expose us to Third World or leveraged buy-out risk."

Founded in 1895, Royal Trust operates a network of branches across Canada, through 18 offices, and is the key financial center of the West Coast. It is also one of the few financial institutions worldwide having a triple-A rating under Connelissen's leadership.

The Burlington-based Royal Trust has grown into Canada's seventh-largest financial institution, with assets on its balance sheet and under administration now exceeding \$81 billion. At least part of that expansion has been based on his conviction that financial conglomerates must achieve the best of both worlds: that allows the economies of scale to take hold, so that they become relatively low-cost providers of the services they provide. The danger of corporate conglomerates is lack of accountability, and that is where Connelissen's criticism of Canada's banks comes in.

Although he credits his bank with such accolades as "the size and the power of the bank is important for Canada because we need to have a strong financial system," the Royal Trust president does not approve of its chartered competitors. "The 10-year-old ownership structure in banks doesn't necessarily work in the interest of providing greater accountability to shareholders," he said. "I'd like to see stronger and much more independent boards—that is, directors unconnected financially with the banks on whose boards they sit."

More immediately, Connelissen is concerned that the Canadian banks' takeover of Bay Street's major financial houses constrains a huge potential for conflicts of interest. "Just think of a situation where the securities company has around \$140 million worth of equity in the bank; it can't go well, with half of it left on the shelf," he said. "Now, at the same time, the bank has an investment management subsidiary that gets money out on a discretionary, fiduciary basis for its clients, and the information will be in just some of that would leak into their clients' portfolios. Also, the securities division here will be half the success of capital funds in this country, so that clients are not going to get half as good a return as dealers, or vice versa."

He is most upset about how recently Canada's banks have been financing leveraged buy-outs, especially after the lesson they should have learned from the fiasco of Third World debts that turned out to be uncollectible. "They all focus on the same business opportunities, drive down the profit margins, pump more and more money in and out, and the next thing you know, they're got another crisis on their hands," he said. "I have a fundamental disagreement with the whole concept of leveraged buy-outs, because common shareholders who could once hold their own shares are sold out and their money has been replaced by banks of high-yield (junk) bonds who have no votes. This also makes the companies much more susceptible to business downturns because they're holding a financial instrument dependent on interest-rate movements. It's an unhealthy trend, and it's a one-size-fits-all business. In Canada, banks have been so keen on financing leveraged buy-outs as such a grand scale."

"The trouble with buy banks," Connelissen lamented, "is that they tend to move like a herd of animals." This is corrected, he said, by the "smaller, more private banks." They make leveraged buy-outs look like independent thinkers.

## YOUTH

# A growing menace

Violent skinheads are raising urban fears

They are easily recognizable, with their shaved heads, suspenders and steel-toe work boots. In Montreal, they frequent an out-and-out club called

Les Destructeurs électroniques. Vancouver's Gravelly Street Mall is another hotspot, while in Edmonton, the city's top skinned clique hangs out near booths at Jasper Avenue's Sid

Hol restaurant. Canada's skinheads are not newsworthy, indeed, there may be fewer than 1,000 dedicated skinheads across the country. But because of the racist views that some hold and the menacing image that they project, the skinheads represent an ominous specter on the margins of Canadian society. At the same time, skinheads in the United States, Europe and Britain—where the movement began two decades ago—are currently experiencing a recharged growth fueled by lethal violence and well-defined links to white supremacist and neo-Nazi movements.

In Canada, there are few attempts at skinhead fashion magazines, not accepting their beliefs. And even publicly motivated Canadian skinheads have seldom avoided accusations of violence. In the United States, skinned gangs have amassed a record of vandalism, assaults and murder. Last October, in the northern French city of Lille, a 19-year-old skinned man charged with murder after a violent assault on a woman, was sentenced to a public house and locked in a stock. The alleged killer later told police that his victim had "looked stupid." Later in 1987, two West German skinned men were sentenced to arrest and 18-year prison terms in Hamburg for stabbing a black immigrant woman to death.

There have been equally violent incidents in the United States. Last June, 16-year-old Dean McKee was sentenced to life imprisonment for leaving and stabbing to death a 61-year-old black woman in Tampa. Jim is California's Santa Cruz County, Michael Elrod, 16, was convicted of manslaughter after he fatally stabbed another white youth who had been a black man to a party last February. Later this

month, three young skinheads are scheduled to go on trial in Portland, Ore., on charges of kidnapping to death 28-year-old Ethiopian-born Malagat Sere.

There are also signs that the number of skinheads is growing internationally. According to police officials, newly formed skinned gangs have appeared in France, Belgium, Swe-



Skinhead demonstration in Atlanta: signs that their numbers are growing worldwide

den, Denmark and West Germany during the past year in the United States, the New York City-based Anti-Defamation League, sponsored by the Jewish organization B'nai B'rith, reported last October that skinned activity, which had been centered mainly in California, had spread to 21 states. The league added that "membership numbers have grown to an estimated 2,800 from a total of 1,800 to 2,000" only one month earlier.

While such numbers are hardly a cause for alarm, the white supremacist ideology of many skinheads in America is the common theme underlying most cases of skinned violence. Yesterday, June 3, a 19-year-old Vancouver skinned youth declared to give his full name, said Max Lewis, 17, and his full name, skinned and says: "We got jobs first. We're from Canada and

what do we get out of it?" In Northern Europe, an influx of unemployed workers from Turkey and North Africa has helped in the focus of skinheads and other workers, who are concerned that their jobs and traditional values are threatened. "They spend nights like chattering in a hole corner," said Jean-François Camus, a defense lawyer involved in the Lille murder trial. "But there's nothing behind the words. They know the fastest track of political or social issues."

By other skinned groups have developed links of varying strength with right-wing political parties. Some British skinheads have long-standing ties with the new National Front Party. While some extreme right-wing political groups in France and Belgium have attempted to recruit skinheads to their cause, Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's right-wing National Front, has disavowed them.

Now some U.S. skinheads have begun to

large class too with the extreme right. One important rallying point for American skinheads is Thomas Metzger, a middle-aged television repairman to the southern California town of Palmdale where the Anti-Defamation League has described as "the most visible neo-Nazi in the United States." A former member of both the right-wing John Birch Society and the racist Ku Klux Klan, Metzger is the self-proclaimed leader of a white supremacist organization called the White Army Brotherhood and claims to have 6,000 followers. Since 1985, Metzger has attracted a following of skinheads, referring to them as his "brotherhood boys."

Metzger's main target is a nationwide organization "White people are on the way out unless they do something," he told Metzger's "The



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## THEATRE

# Sentimental journey

A play recalls days of Canadian innocence

BY JENNIFER HARRIS

By Joanne MacFarlane  
Directed by Eric Smeets

For most of her 30-year career, playwright Joanne MacFarlane has been exploring Canadiana to Americans. Born in Canada in 1938 but a resident of the United States for the past 30 years, Glus has written a number of successful

will afford an eye—will it particularly enlighten or move anyone. While it does display genuine humor at times it is as sentimental as an evening spent listening to old records.

The play is set in the mythical Saskatchewan town of Rignold. The year is 1948, and the place is the back room of Howard's Hardware, with its clutter of pitchforks, party kivas and paint cans. The room is also the home of David McTavish (R. H. Thomson), a 46-year-old

The Gathering is in full swing when a telegram arrives announcing that David has just won \$120,000 in the Iowa sweepstakes. He decides to stop playing horses, but his elder subsidies also disappear when he realizes that there is nothing in particular he wants to do. Thus lightning strikes a second time. Mildred returns to Rignold after a 15-year absence. She, too, has been passed by her plans to rescue David from poverty and solitude as upset by the news of his good fortune. Need, she tells him, "I counted on finding you poor."

Mildred eventually lets David hear his, but announces that she will marry his only if he does something constructive with his money. When David decides to run for town council, Mildred agrees to become his wife, and they set out to buy the largest house in town. It just happens to be the local whorehouse, run by an aging madam called Bessie (played with husky-voiced aplomb by Christine Kemp).

Unfortunately, their attempts to buy the brothel bear little relation to either theme, and Rignold soon turns out of dramatic action. The script's child-makes-strange to parody the dreary exotica between David and Mildred is further embarrassing. But the acting is first-rate. Thomson manages to shatter himself into the narrow confines of his role and create the illusion of substance. With his slight hunch and graying maturity, he is the very image of the earnest, naive Canada of another era. Heterogeneous not to Canadians much about who they are now, but it certainly has something worthwhile to say about where they come from.

JOHN KEMROSE



Thomson (left), King's pining, gawky bachelor and an over-the-hill madam

plays drawing on her gothicist Saskatchewan. The majority of these premiered south of the border, including the 1984 Tony-nominated Play. However, Glus's latest drama, Heterogeneous, books with the small pattern it opened last week at Toronto's St. Lawrence Centre in a Canadian Stage Company production, her first Canadian premiere in more than 10 years. For a change, Glus is exploring Canadiana to the world's leading experts on the subject—Canadiana themselves.

Like other Glus dramas, Heterogeneous is a year of assembly that has long been out of fashion. In spirit, the play is close to Stephen Leacock's Saskatchewan driver of a Little Town, offering a picture of us as we are, more recent Canada. Rather than re-creating the 1940s from a 1980s perspective, Glus offers a copy, nostalgic comedy, full of what in small towns are labelled "colorful characters." Heterogeneous

bookends and lesser painter who has been painting for the museum he lost 15 years ago David was about to marry Mildred Douglas (Christine Kemp), but as the night before the ceremony, he discovered her meeting with another man and broke off the engagement.

The afternoon is also the only meeting place for what is known in Rignold as "The Gathering"—the informal, wheezy-sipping clique of the town's most powerful men. Although the characters are all somewhat stereotyped, Glus and the actors manage to imbue them with boundless, natural vitality. The disparate retired leader, Tom Wallace (Sandy Webster), the blooming mayor, Angus Macpherson (Michael Bell), the million police chief, Andy Campbell (Ken Jensen), and the town's alcoholic captain of industry, Sandy MacMillan (Peter MacNeil), have a wonderfully entertaining time exercising their propensities together.

## MACLEAN'S BEST-SINGLE LIST

### FICION

1. *Confessions*, Atwood (1)
2. *South of Nowhere*, Shulman (2)
3. *Joanne MacFarlane* (3)
4. *The Love of Grief*, Davies (4)
5. *Spy Glass*, Douglas (5)
6. *The Edge*, Fennell (6)
7. *Milk and Honey*, Lumsden (7)
8. *The Love of Grief*, Davies (8)
9. *The Queen of the Damned*, Day (9)
10. *Gardner*, Lumsden

### NONFICION

1. *The Arctic Circle*, Rivett (1)
2. *The Private Wars*, Gershwin (2)
3. *No Time to Move*, Gershwin (3)
4. *A Brief History of Time*, Hawking (4)
5. *Chomsky*, Lumsden (5)
6. *Canadian Living*, MacFarlane (6)
7. *Don't Forget*, A. Powell (7)
8. *Confessions*, Atwood (8)
9. *The Love of Grief*, Davies (9)
10. *Chomsky*, Lumsden (10)

Compiled by Shirley McIntyre



# Closing down the options for Mulroney

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

**T**he most important decision to be made by The Lamest, That Wilks Like a Man in 1980 will have nothing to do with the House of Commons. It faces him because the stubborn Pierre Jammie who the Tories could not have sent, will finally sign down in hand of the CBC as his term runs out—and not before, and not after. The Trudeau appointee was content to hang on. If changing governments are able to turn out CBC bosses wherever they want and install their own leaders, that's the end of the broadcasting system that binds this country together as the railway once did.

Pierre Jammie is 66, ready to retire to his farm house, peace, and Brian Mulroney is mulling over his successor. Three men want the job: One is Kenneth Nash, the superannuated underman. I know he wants the job because every time our ministers the subject to three of him in expensives press expense and ignorance of solution. Knowledge at a very substantial pay, as his career attracts. For someone who once did freelance agricultural reporting in Washington, he's come a long way.

Nash, formerly that Clark Kent character, is a very careful politician. He was in CBC management before he in effect appointed himself anchorman and he knows where all the bodies are buried and exactly who to write to his meticulously arranged cocktail parties. He has a good chance.

Pierre Jammie wants the job. He isn't, unlike Nash, making much of a secret of it. More than one observer has pointed out that his magnificence, legions, much-advertised *The Struggle for Democracy* series as to test his job applicant for the post he first sought 22 years ago. The idea for the series as a matter of fact, came by way of Trudeau. Jammie says he just took democracy for granted until Trudeau's use of the War Measures Act and the wholesale losing of innocents in Montreal was put in the middle of the night. He then realized how fragile democracy is.

Jammie, an impostor over 40 years, was at the centre of the most exciting TV show ever mounted in this country. *That Four Not Seven*



Days was paraded after the net's *That Four Not Seven*. That Net, just in 1965, 60 Minutes with Mike Wallace and Morley Safer and Doug Sargent and the rest of it came down by comparison was paraded after *Seven Days*.

Wason and Lester LaPierre and Doug Letterman crossed the nation, which was of course their job, since it agitated the cross-backs in Parliament, and the CBC president. Al-phonse Oumert of course sacked them, since it was then the 1980s and the establishment feared that bag heeled, dog-smoking bigmen with flowers in their hair were about to storm the bastions.

Wason is 58 now, somewhat calmer, just as intelligent, the best interviewee on TV I've ever seen, mostly because of the deadly one he can resist of advice—politicians appoint him but don't see it like a sword. He's a good athlete although he has only one leg—the other disappeared when he fell off a roof. He

also has a valuable friend in coast. That would be close ally Ray Finkel, an old CBC plomer, former member of the CRTC, now a cable TV executive in London. Finkel was a young Ottawa aide when Dief was 74, first brought a Quebec-type named Brian Mulroney to Ottawa and was offered the chief of staff post in the PMO in 1984. He is still in touch. *Shenanigans*.

I tried a little harder a few years ago for Adrienne Clarkson, when she was still Ontario's agent general in Paris, on the principle that an ethical girl, head of women would be a good fit for the CBC and a *Ship for Mulroney*. All a moment, naturally, was that it killed off whatever chance she had, and she didn't spend to me again for too long a time.

The day Mulroney should choose, if you must know, is *Monsieur Zemmure*. He's not wants the job, although he doesn't quite know how to go about applying. (He does know a job

application through this back page is the less of death, but who said life was fairly pleasant. He's the black-polluted boy wonder of the CBC back when, and is now the boss of the CRTC TV station in Toronto, the cable that taught every other such CBC cable how to act.

He's into what the comprehensible channel on your set that no adult understands—which is obviously the secret of its success. He's the apprentice of Zemmure, the "strong man" (he's a number that started in Toronto, is still running in Los Angeles and is now intriguing New York, as audiences follow the actors from scene to scene while passing for dinner—and that sticks his body of 24 years, Marilyn Lightstone).

Monsie has a mind that races faster than a CBC expense account, and his warlike would appeal the mannequin and frighten the bogues out of every attached CBC bureaucrat, and his campaign for the campaign is probably being mounted too late to do any good. He's wanted the job for some time, but doesn't have the leverage Ottawa that Nash and Wilks have.

Mulroney, as we all know, relies heavily on this department for advice. He hardly sleeps without pondering the latest bus wisdom sought his way from this page. Monsie would be too old for a second term government trying for a place in history. It's desirable the government has the courage to gamble on Wason, an actual performer and brilliant producer who would be put in charge of the been chosen and the current abolitionists. The choice will probably be some careful administrator of the right detached political background who knows how to drink and can be leftless before a parliamentary conference. Oh well. We tried.

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**THE SHAMELESS ART  
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